THE SOVEREIGN: OR A Political Discourse UPON THE OFFICE AND OBLIGATIONS OF THE Supreme Magistrate.

Pro Lege, Rege, & Grege.

LONDON,
Printed in the Year, 1680.

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March 25, 1938

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THE INTRODUCTION.

A MAN, a Family, and a Commonwealth, are the *three* main Things comprehended under the *Ratio* of *Government*; ſo that the *Political Art* conſiſts of *three* Branches: *Morality*, which relates to *Perſonal Demeanour*; *OEconomy*, concern'd in the Regulation of a *Houſe*; and *Reaſon of State*, which Influences in the Adminiſtration of *Publick Affairs*. The *two firſt* are of *Private Regard*, as being employ'd about *Property*, *Domeſtick Matters*, &c. but the laſt is of a *Common* and *General Proſpect*. Now in *each* of them there is a Gradation of *Proximity*; for *Man* refers to a Family, and *that* again, to a *City*. Nay they have an immediate *Dependence* one upon Another, *Ethicks* being Eſſential to *OEconomy*, and *that* to Policy. But yet *Policy* is the moſt excellent, as including within it ſelf the *other two*; and it may be divided into *Monarchy*, *Ariſtocracy*, and *Democracy*. In the *firſt* of theſe, the *Supreme Authority* is inveſted in a *Single Perſon*; in a *few* of the *Nobility*, in the *ſecond*; and the *third* fixes it in a *Number* of the *Populace*. *Reaſon* and *Experience* have ever juſtly *preferr'd Monarchy* to the *Other*: and ſince *Providence* has bleſt *Us* with this *Form*, it ſhall be the Buſineſs of the enſuing *Treatiſe* to make the *beſt* on't, by exhibiting *Prudential Rules*, for the *Inſtitution* of a *Happy Prince*.

IN Persuance of this my *Purpose*, I shall previously observe to you, that *Policy* (or, in the *modern Dialect*, *Reason* of *State*) is chiefly supported upon these *three Principles*, *Councel*, *Strength* and *Reputation*: which are so absolutely necessary to the compleating of a *Worthy Prince*, that his *Felicity* ever runs *Parallel* to the Proportion of these *Dispensations*. As to *Councel*, it is an *Innate Light* of the *Mind*, that instructs him in the Right *Use* of the *Instruments* of *Government*; which then the *Intellect* approves of, when they aptly work to the *Ends* propounded. *Strength* is the *Result* of a Complication of these five *Particulars*; Affectionate Loyalty, Munificence, Tranquillity, Arms, and Treasure; a Concurrence of all *These* do render a *Prince* truly Glorious. And then for Reputation, it is the *Effect* of an Illustrious *Character*, acquired by the *Fame* of *Wisdom*, and *Military Accomplishments*, spread over *Foreign Countries*. Of these *three Points*, in *Order*, and at *Large*.

PART I.

Of the First Principle *of* Political Reason.

CHAP. I.

TO Begin with *Natural Abilities*: The *Princes COUNCIL* may be considered under a *Twofold Notion*; *Inwardly*, when it is the Legitimate Issue of his Own Breast; and *Outwardly*, if it proceed from his *Ministers*, whom (for their Wisdom and Experience) he has Authorized to advise him, upon *Exigencies* of *State*. Now there are *Three* Springs (as it were) from whence this *Inward Councel* flows; *Nature*, *Education* and *Practice*: But *Nature* is the most Considerable; because it infuses This *Promogenial Light* (or *Hability*) in a Proportion Commensurative, and adapted to the Quality of the *Temperament*. From this Fountain do issue the Primary Emotions of the Mind, and the first Stroaks and Lineaments of the *Manners*: For the Body being the *Subject* of the Operations of the *Soul*, there must (in Consequence) be a Generation of such *Inclinations* and *Affections*, as the *Propriety* of the *Disposition* does exert. Nay of such Inestimable *Import* is this *Gift* of *Nature*, that without it, all the Helps

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Helps and Advantages of the most *Liberal Education*, can never be of any great *Avail*.

NOW where there is in a Prince an Impotent *Predominancy* of any of the *Four Capital Humours*, it either renders him wholly *Unfit* to *Govern*, or else exposes him to Afflictionsand Misery in his *Reign*. The *Sanguine Complexion* is the Best, if lightly Tinctur'd with *Melancholy*, to qualifie the boyling Agitation of the *Blood*. A *Prince* thus Constituted, displays a Majestick Gracefulness in his *Port* and *Aspect*; is Temperate, Magnanimous, Indulgent, Docile, Prudent, and an Encouragerr of *Learning* and *Vertue*. But the Contrary to *this* (and the worst of all for a Magistrate) is a *Superabundance of Phlegm*, which suits better with *Subjection* than with *Sovereignty*; as making a man Improvident, Unthankful, Distrustful, an Enemy to *Order* and to the *Publick weal*. A *Potency* of *Yellow Choller* has its Benefits and Inconveniences. It too much exposes to the Vicissitudinary Flux of *Humours*; subjects that awful *Grandure* which ought to be inseparable from a Monarch, to *Contempt*, through *Facility*; and debauches, his *Attribute* of *Invincible Gravity*, into an Abject, Ignoble Levity. *Black Choler* composes the Visage to a Figure of *Severity* rather than of *Majesty*; and does not so much dispose to *Virtue*, as harden against *Vice*. A *Spirit* Generous and full of *Clemency*, is not to be hop'd for in *Melancholy*; but yet it often produces Thriftiness, Ingenuity, Closeness, and a Commendable *Patience* of the *Cares* of Government.

ALL *Politicians* do agree, that the *Impulses* of these several *Dispositions*, are in a great measure *Irresistable*; and therefore have entertain'd the Observation of them as a *Rule* by which to square their *Judgments* and *Characters* of *Princes*. But this I dare avow, That the *Presages* thus inferred, have very often been Confuted, by the Powerful Influence that *Reason* and *Good Nurture* have upon the *Passions*: For these are capable, in a high Degree of Correcting and Improving *Natural Imperfections*; Lessons of *Instruction* being *Natures Physick*.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the *Acquired Parts that* Qualifie *a* Prince for *Internal Council.*

AS to the *Acquired* Abilities, Education is the *Chief* of them; it being the *Source* of *Virtue* and *Vice*, and the *mediate Cause* of humane *Felicity*. This it is that preserves the *Youth* and *Vigour*, or hastens the *Autumn* of *Kingdoms* and *Empires*; either flushing them with *Victories* and *Successes*, or exposing them to the Fury of an insulting *Conquerour*. Let but *this* be *right*, and it proves a *Mother* to *Morality*, and a *Nurse* to *Equity*; and a Concurrence of *both* these *Virtues*, renders a *State Flourishing* and *Considerable* in the *Eye* of the *World*.

A PRINCE of an *Heroick Mind* is a Supreme *Blessing*, and an invincible *Bulwark*, to a *Commonwealth*: for by his *Example* the *People* are allured into a Love of *Goodness*, and into the *Practice* of *Martial Exercises*; making the *Toyls* of the *Helm*, (whilst he steers it) by an affectionate *Obedience*, to be both *Delightful* and *Glorious*. Now by *Education* I understand an *Accurate Culture* of the *Mind*; which when it is skilfully improved, will become a *Rule* to *Reason*, a *Bridle* to the *Passions*, and the *Lustre* and *Ornament* of the *Body*. This *Education* that (like *Spirits*) animates the most Doltish and Stupid, cannot but have wonderful *Effect* upon the lively *Temper* of a *Prince*; who, if *Uncultivated*, proves the *Corruption* of a *State*, the *Bane* of *Government*; and instead of a watchful *Shepherd*, an Indulgent *Father*, becomes a Ravenous and Devouring *Wolf* to his People. By this Means a *Monstrous Nero* came into the World; and *Michael* the *Third* (*Emperour* of the *East*) suck'd his *Poyson* from a *Wicked Master* and a *Vicious Friend*.

THREE things are therefore mainly requisite in this *Point*, a Wise, well-manner'd *Tutor* in his *Childhood*; in his *Youth*, a Venenerable *Guardian*; and in both Seasons, an *Exercise* that is Manly, Arduous, and Befitting a *Prince*. *Alexander* was plac'd under the Tuition of *Aristotle*; *Adrian* under *Plutarch*, and *Charles* the *Great* under *Albinus*. Let his *Companions* also be Sober and Honest; and he must have a *General Knowledge*, an *Insight* into all things. But I would

would have him be particularly careful in advancing his *Ministers*, according to their *Merit*, and *Quality*. For although his *Benevolence* should be *Universal*, and extend to *All*; yet will it behove him to fix a *Mark* of *Honour* upon *Particular* Persons, and to distinguish them according to their proper *Worth* and *Condition*. Even in the *Celestial Hierarchy* it self, there is not an *Equality* of *Privilege*; for the *Stations* of *some* are Higher, of *others* Lower; *Some* have greater Power and Authority, *Others* less.

AS to the *Books* that are fit for a *Prince* to Read, I reckon those in the *First* Place, that do exhibit the Illustrious *Actions* and *Atchievements* of his *Ancestors*, and of his *Subjects*: and in the *Next*, the Histories of Foreign *Countries*: for the *Future* may be guest at by the Knowledge of the *Past*; and his *Institution* ought to be such, as may fortifie him against the *Strooks* of *Fortune*, and against all *Contingences*, by the Assistance of his *Reason*, which may teach him either how to *Prevent* or to *bear* them. The Study of *Moral Philosophy* is both Profitable and Necessary, as instructing how to Regulate his Life, and to distribute prudently his *Favours* and *Benefits*. *Seneca* would have him to be the *Touchstone* of *Truth*, in things both Divine and Humane; and to have continually before his Eyes *Examples* of *Justice*, *Piety*, and the rest of the *Virtues*, (that are linck'd together by a Sacred and Indissoluble *Bond*) with which a *Princes Breast* ought to be enrich'd. If his *Youth* be well season'd with *Moral Precepts*; for the *Rational* Part of *Philosophy*, 'tis enough if he do but Taste, and Reverence it: For *Constancy*, *Faith* and *Equity*, are his *Essential Qualifications*; and the rest of the *Sciences* may render him *Elegant* perhaps and *Witty*; but *these* I account *Superfluities* in him, because we are to consider him as a *Prince*, not a *Rhetorician*, as a *Cæsar*, not a *Cicero*. But above all things, the *Maxims* of *Policy*, and the *Excellencies* of *Government*, ought to be diligently inculcated; in Order to the provoking in him an *Emulation* of the great *Exploits* of his *Predecessors*, and rendring him sollicitous of his *Subjects Welfare*, firm against the *Shocks* of *Adversity*, and a Contemner of all *Perils* for the *Good* of the *Commonwealth*. Now it cannot be deny'd, but the *Sciences* do adorn the *Mind*; and yet nevertheless, it is a *Weakness* in a *Prince* wholly to resign himself up to the Study of them; because *His* Work is an *Art* that goes by *Rule* and *Compass*, more than by *Speculation*, and *that's* his surest *Chard*, that is drawn from *Experience*, the *Writings* of able *States-men*, and the *Lives* of those great *Monarchs*, whose *Reigns* have been Happy and Glori-

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ous. Those are *Lessons* fit for a *Prince*, that teach him how to behave himself, and to Govern his *People* with *Justice* and *Moderation*.

THE *third Qualification* for *Inward Councel*, (and the *Second* of the *Acquired*) is *Experience*: and this is (in Truth) the very *Light* of the *Mind*, the *Mother* of *Prudence*, and the *Rule* of the *Will*; for without it, there can neither be *Good Counsel* at *Home*, or *Victory* abroad; for a *Raw* man is not able to judge aright of the *Distempers* of the State, nor how to accommodate *Remedies* either in *Season* or *Proportion*: And it is an unpardonable Error in a *Physician*, to administer *slight Medicines* in *Chronical Diseases*; or on the *Contrary*. Now *Experience* is to be consider'd in a *double* Regard; *publickly*, as it proceeds from the Knowledge of the *Past Times*, and the Observation of the *Events* of great *Enterprizes*, and of the *Causes* of important *Revolutions*; or *Privately*, if it be collected from the several Accidents and Misfortunes of *particular* Persons. The *Second* is so *Dark* and *Confused*, that it is not of any great *Value*, without the *former*; because the Life of man is so short, that of it self it is not sufficient to compleat a *Perfect Experience*: Beside that it is commonly purchas'd at a *Dear* Rate; as not knowing how to promote it self, but at the Price of other mens Ruine; to step *forward*, but by *Slips* and *Errours*; or to *advance* wisely, without first going *Backward*. But when *both* these are joyn'd together, the *Effect* of them is *Prudence*, and a Graceful *Address* and *Dexterity* in all *Undertakings*. That which I call the *Experience* of *Time*, may be distributed into three *Parts*. In the *First*, a man learns how to govern himself, in the *Second*, he studies the laudable Discharge of *Publick Offices*; and the *Third* (under the Title of *History*) brings him acquainted with the *Acts* and *Atchievments* of the Ancients; whose *Virtues* are recorded for the Instruction of *Posterity*. For *Princes*, though they be above the *Fear* of any mortal Power, are yet corrected and reproved by the *Dead*; and a Paper will speak out, when *Tongues* are obliged to Silence. *Historical Events* are as *Presidents* to present and future *Ages*: And he that is the *best-read* in them, is commonly accounted the *ablest* man. The *Root* of *Experience* is certainly the *Observation* of *particular Accidents*; but then it flourishes much more eminently in him, that has added all the *Occurrences* and *Transactions* in Story, to his own *private Observations*: for a Studious *Reader* of *Annals* and *Antiquities*, is the *Scholar* of *Prudence*; and he that is excellently well vers'd in them, is a *Master* of it. A brief *Recapitulation* of many things is termed *Historie*; and a *Wise man* will soberly

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deliberate upon it, and make a good Uſe of it. Now the *Foundation* of *Right Adminiſtration*, is *Wiſdom*; which being nouriſh'd by the *Precepts* of *Learned* men, and quicken'd by brave *Examples*, becomes the great *Miſtreſs* of ſound *Policy*. *Hiſtory* and good *Converſation* ſupply the *Defects* of *Nature*; preſent to a Mans View the ſeveral *Countreys* of the World; fitting him for all *Times*; to contemplate the *Paſt*, and to provide for the *Future*. This it is that ſharpens the *Wit*, Cheriſhes the *Genius*, clears and enlightens the *Mind*, enriches the *Memory*, enlivens the *ſtupid*, mollifies the *Intractable*; qualifying them for all *Employments*, as well *Civil* as *Military*; puſhes on Generous *Spirits* to an eager purſuit after *Glory*, through all Hazards and Difficulties; and being equally void of *Fear* and *Affection*, it ſpeaks out *that* which no *Tongue* durſt utter; engaging both *Authority* and *Reverence* in *publick Adminiſtrations*. Many men, by the ſingle *Knowledge* of *Times* only, have been capacitated to give *Laws* to Countreys and Nations; and even thoſe that have been but little acquainted with the *Practick Part* of *Policy*, have been the *Authors* of Excellent *Civil Inſtitutions*. How Eminent in this Particular, was *Draco* among the *Athenians*; *Zephirus*, *Zaleucus* and *Cordona* among the *Carthaginians*; *Philolaus* in *Thebes*; *Andronodotus* in *Calcedon*, and *Protagoras* among the *Thurians!* But yet a truly Wiſe man joyns both ſorts together, and furniſhes himſelf as well with *Private*, as *Common Experiments*. Such are thoſe two Illuſtrious *Lights* of *Greece*, and *Maſters* of the *Civil Law* (*Lycurgus* and *Solon*) reported to be; who Eſtabliſh'd the *Empire* and *Government* of their Country upon ſo juſt, and ſure a *Foundation*, that it flouriſh'd for the ſpace of *Eight Hundred* years. Nay of ſo ripe and ſound a *Judgment* were theſe Great Men, that to them we ſtand indebted, in a great meaſure, for the *Laws* and *Policies* that have ſince been entertained in the ſeveral *Countreys* of all the *Civiliz'd parts* of the *World*. Now a *Prince* may attain to *both* theſe *Kinds* of *Experience*, by reading *Hiſtory*, by the *Principal Exerciſe* of *Dominion*, and by the *Converſe* of *Learned* Men. But there is a great deal of Difference now betwixt a *Dead* and a *Living Hiſtorian*; the *One* may indeed be heard, though he be *Dumb*, and yet cannot he anſwer to a *Queſtion*; and his inculcating *all things* laviſhly to *all Men*, hinders not, but that he may (through not underſtanding him) be *niggardly* to *You*: whereas the *Other*, upon any doubt is able to explain himſelf, and reſolve you in whatever you ſhall ask of him: Here you may be inſtructed in things that you are ignorant of, and quench your *Thirſt* after *Wiſdom* at a *Living Fountain*. A *Prince*

ought to hold such men as these in great Esteem: As the Emperour *Adrian* had *Dionysius* the *Historiographer*, whose *Books* made him a *Companion* for the *Grandees* of the *Court*; and his *Quill* assisted his *Flight* to the greatest Honours. *Hannibal* and *Galba* were wont to say, that *Private Experience* was to be preferr'd to *Fortune*: For that this is the *Stepdame* of *Prudence*; but the *Other* the *Parent* of *Wisdom*, and a *Mistress* ever at hand. *Philosophy* would have found but Cold Entertainment in the World, and have been accounted almost Unserviceable to *Princes*, had it not been Patroniz'd by *Alexander*, and the *Cæsars*; the mixture of whose *Virtues* and *Vices*, affords us a lively *Image* and Representation of the *Condition* of *Human Life*. Had the *Memory* of the Ancient *Heroes* been bury'd in Oblivion, there would have been but little *Matter* for *Perswasives* to *Honesty* and *Goodness*: Nay, the Laudable Duration of things would have perished, and become unprofitable, through an *Ignorance* of the *Pulses* and *Affections* of them; and *manly Performances* been left destitute of the Means of recommending themselves to the *Imitation* of *Posterity*.

CHAP. III.

Of the Qualities necessary for the External Councel *of a* Prince.

HAVING thus delivered my self concerning the *Parts* and *Abilties* arising from *Nature*, *Education* and *Experience*; and requisite for the Corroborating a *Princes Judgment*, or capacitating him for *Inward Counsel*; which was the Subject I purposed to Treat of: I shall proceed to handle the *Point* of *Qualifications* necessary for his *Outward Counsel*, or *that* which comes from his *Ministers*. Now *External Counsel* leans principally upon these *Three* things; *Reason*, *Presidents* and *Authority*; *Reason* brings a *Proposition* to the Test, by *President*, and then *Authorizes* it, to the *Honour* of the *Proposer*. *Aristotle* makes *Profit* to be the *End* of *Counsel*; others the *Publick Good*: but I am of Opinion, that the *proper End* of it, ought to be *Honest* and *Beneficial*. It is a Mark of *Prudence* and Good *Temper*, the giving heed to the *Advices* of *Wise* and *Loyal* Men. But yet a *Prince*, the less able he is of himself to manage *Affairs* of *State*, the more Gross and Numerous will be his *Er-*

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rours and *Miscarriages*. For 'tis a Great good *Fortune*, if he form not his *Councel*, of Men as weak as himself: and then all falls to *Confusion*, as soon as there arises a *Faction* bold enough to attempt the *Subversion* of the *Government*. Nay, tho' he be furnished with *Ministers* both *Trusty* and *Able* to support the *State*; yet what will all this signifie in the Case of a Sottish, Self-will'd *Prince*, who will not be prevail'd upon, to Command the *Execution* of any wholesom *Projects* and *Deliberations*? *Envy* and *Discord* doe commonly tread upon the Heel of *Promotion*; even among the *Ministers* of the Greatest *Monarchs*: and then *Self-Interest* Rules every where; and the *General Good* is but little regarded, by such as lie upon the *Catch* for a *Wind-fall* to their own Advantage; and that through the most Impervious *Cliffs*, and Crooked *Turnings* and *Windings*, do hotly pursue the *Scent* of Filthy *Lucre*. How is it possible that any *Commonwealth* should thrive and flourish, where those Counsels that are the most Profitable to it, are still discouraged and rejected? So that if he has not *Stomach* enough to restrain the *Clashings* and *Exorbitances* of his *Officers*, nor *subtilty* to pierce into the Bottom and Drift of their *Practices* and *Designs*; his *Councel* is so far from rendering him *Glorious*, that they are many times content to see him betray'd and overthrown by a *Rebellious Violence*. Nay even the best *Councel*, in the hands of a *Feeble Prince*, becomes *Feeble* also; and then, such a one can never be *reverenc'd* by his Ministers, as he ought to be; because *Respect* is rarely to be found there, where *Derision* has taken place. And a Discovery of *Natural Imperfections* first produces *Contempt*, and then *Detestation*; which is also follow'd with *Treachery*; it being hard to be *True* to any one, whom we have taken up a Hatred against. Besides that, Deep and Haughty men will disdain to Truckle and Crouch to a *Dolt*, that is wholly unworthy of his *Regalities*; because *Reason* soars aloft above the *pitch* of *Mortality*, and is not to be reduced under the *Command* of *Folly*, but by Violence. True it is, that the *Head* of a *Sovereign* wears the Crown; but yet the Principal *Support* of it is *Wisdom*. And the Reason why *Princes* do commonly malign the most *Capacious Souls*, is, because the Mind being the better Part of Man, and the only thing wherein a *Subject* may excell his *Sovereign*; they therefore endeavour to be accounted as much Superiour to their People in the Dignities and Perfections of it, as they are in Power and Authority. Many *Princes* have got into the Throne, by the Hatred and Emulation of Great Men: And since by the Impulse of *Nature*, even *Brutes* themselves do bear particular Regard to those among

them that are of the Cleareſt *Inſtinct* and *Vigour*; it ſeems but juſt, that we ſhould pay a deference to ſuch as are Wiſer, and more conſiderable than our ſelves. And yet ſuch Mortal Enemies are a great many to this moſt Valuable of Bleſſings, Wiſdom; that rather than be beholden to *Prudence* for the ſaving of their Lives; they will not ſtick to ſacrifice them to the ſuggeſtions of *Paſſion* and *Ignorance*. The *Underſtanding* is the glorious Faculty of the *Soul*; and it is more than Brutal to ſleight the braveſt *Spirits*, and the Nobleſt *Accompliſhments*. In perſons of equal Abilities, there is a a common claim to *Emminence*: but if there chance to ſtart up amongſt them a *Mind* that is ſuper-excellently Rich and Illuſtrious, it is certain to bear the Burthen of a Confederate *Suſpicion* and *Envy*. *Covetize* has been able to enhance an *Eſtimate* upon the fœtid Bowels of the *Earth*; and ſtrange it is, that *Reaſon* cannot prevail as far in favour of the Right-precious *Inwards* of the *Soul*. Why ſhould Malevolence and Infamy thus ſtifle the Veneration that is due to the ſoundeſt *Judgments*? And what a ſhame it is for the *Mind* to engender *Poyſon*, when even the very *Earth* is productive of *Antidotes* againſt it? *Prudence* and the other Virtues requiſite for due *Adminiſtration*, are lock'd up within the Soul as within a Cabinet; which ſhould be look'd into with an *honeſt* Intention, not with a *malicious*; or to furniſh matter for *Detraction* and *Slander*. He that has the moſt abſolute Command over the *Inſtruments* of *Government*, is certainly the Greateſt *Prince*. Such a one will ever Cheriſh and Advance the moſt deſerving; and be ſtudious in picking out the ableſt *Miniſters*: becauſe the *Prudence* and *Fidelity* of his Councellors is mainly Contributary to the *Acqueſt* of Immortal *Glory*. So that a Labour attended with theſe Advantages, is *delightful*, even in the very *Neceſſity* of it. But be a *Miniſter* never ſo dexterous, and experienc'd in *State-affairs*; he ought not yet to carry a Shew of Out-ſtripping his *Maſter* in point of *Prudence*: For this is to ſet himſelf up as an *Acceſſory* to his *Sovereign*; and of a *Servant* (which all *Subjects* ought to be) to become his *Companion*. The unlimited Rayes of *Royalty* would ſuffer an *Eclipſe* by a *Partner*, and thoſe *Decrees* that proceed from a *Subject*, do ſtill carry along with them a Reliſh of *Self-Intereſt*; and yet in Debates of great Importance, a *Miniſter* ſhould not be deny'd a temperate Freedom of *Speech*, however he be debarr'd the *Power* to *determine*, (which ought to be *Incommunicable*, in ſuch Caſes;) it being the Officers Duty to *Aſſiſt*, not to *Teach* his *Prince*; who can no more be able to acquit himſelf well, in Point of good Government, with-

without this Liberty of *Will*, than to *live* without a *Soul*. For what is a *Prince* abstracted from the Priviledge of making Use of his own *Reason*, but a Cypher, or a Livelefs Trunck?

THUS ought a *Prince* to behave himself. But yet this General Rule will admit of Exceptions. For in the Case of an infirm, or a shallow *Prince*, it is good for him to support his own Weakness by distributing of his *Authority*, to such Persons as have both Abilities for so eminent a Charge, and an Inclination to perform Faithful Service to the Commonwealth. By this very Means, some *Monarchs* have arriv'd at such a Pitch of *Honour*, as by their own separate *Endeavours*, they could never have attain'd to. *Hercules*'s Insufficiency was never discern'd, so long as he had his Friend *Atlas* to stand at his Elbow; and many hands are able to support even a *Tottering State*. It is the very Wheel of *Policy*, for a *Prince* to confide in those *Ministers* that do deserve his *Trust*: for in so doing he will discharge his Duty to *God*, and dispense an Equitable Influence upon his *People*. Beside that so long as he carries fair with his *Councellors*, no Errours and Miscarriages of *State*, will ever be imputed to him; (though he appropriates the *Honour* of all wholesome Laws, and Successful Counsels) because it lessens not the Credit of an *Artificer*, to have a blunt *Tool*, provided he continues not to make use of it, after he has once found it to have lost its Edge. The *Prince has* one Person, and *sustains* another; *One* of them he brought into the World with him, the *other* he receiv'd from above; the *One* he holds in Common with mortal men, the *Other* was bestow'd upon him by the *Almighty*, for the Good of the Kingdom. His *natural Abilities* ought to be strengthen'd by the Accession of the *Arts*; which are both a Help and an Ornament to the Royal *Function*. The *Man* is compos'd of *Soul* and *Body*, as his Parts; but the *Prince* is formed as with *Instruments*. Now a *Just* Prince does perfectly understand both *Himself* and his *Prerogative*; governs with *Prudence*, is Mature in his *Resolves*, quick in discovering things prejudicial to the *Publick Welfare*; and in all *Transactions* consults the Circumstances of Time, Place and Person. The whole Office of a *Prince*, some have reduc'd under these two Heads, *Council* and *Action*; the first being perfected by *Judgment*, the *other* by *Fidelity*. *Opportunities*, and the *Nicks* of *Time*, fall under the Cognisance of the *Prince*; and for the Rest of the *Execution*, it may be left to his Officers.

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DIFFIDENCE gives Beginning to *Crimes*, and Fewel to *Treachery*, and a general *Diſtruſt* of his People, is a certain Token of a *Princes* approaching Ruine; for he muſt love that would be belov'd, and *Confidence* is as a Bulwark both to *his* Security, and to *their* Allegiance: But *Jealouſie* implyes *Fear*, and when a King is once driven to ſtand in Awe of his *Subjects*, he is within *Ammus Ace* of being none at all. So that it highly concerns him, by all poſſible Means, to engage the *Affections* of his *People*, as the main Support of his *Reputation* abroad; *Good Faith* and *Credit* being the two principal *Props* of all *Empires*: for they preſerve Peace, animate the Commonwealth, and countermine the ſecret Machinations of the diſaffected. *Counſel* is as a Thread to direct us to the Choice of things ſafe and profitable; to diſtinguiſh *Truth* from Falſchood, adding to the Luſtre of the *one*, and to the Infamy of the *other*, by bringing them to an equal *Teſt*. Nay, in ſuch Eſteem was this *Policy* among the *Carthaginians*, that they cenſur'd thoſe *Generals* that got a *Victory without* it, and diſcharg'd thoſe that made uſe of it, though they *loſt* the *Day*: they imputing the *Miſcarriage* to *Fortune*, on the *one* hand, and the *Succeſs* to *Temerity* on the *other*; but where *Jealouſie* has once poſſeſs'd a *Prince*, the utmoſt Diligence of the *Miniſter* can never be able to work any great Effect. *Caſſiodorus* will have that to be a *Perfect Government*, where there is *Prudence*, collected from the Obſervation of *Paſt Events*; an *Application* ſuited to the Particularities of the *Preſent Times*, and a Providence for *Futurities*. But I ſhall ſubjoyn as neceſſary to the compleating of a *Happy* Prince, *Confidence* in his Miniſters, *Reſolution* in his Undertakings, and a conſtant Perſeverance upon the Execution of them. The *Italians* do take Meaſures by the *Paſt*, the *Spaniard*, by the *Preſent*, and the *French*, by the *Future*.

SENECA will have three ſorts of men, the *One* endu'd with the Faculty, (upon a Concurrence of *many* things) to diſcern and make Choice of the *Beſt*. The *Other*, of *themſelves* able to make a *Reaſonable Choice*, but a *Better* yet, upon *Recommendation*; and the *Third* is forc'd to purſue thoſe things only which they are ſet upon. Theſe now are little better than *Natural Slaves*; being in a manner unprofitable to a Commonwealth: and they are ſtill the more *Unhappy*, in that they neither know how to govern themſelves, nor will ſuffer others to do it for them. But the *firſt* Kind is eminently the moſt conſiderable. And the *Second*, though they are not over capable of avoiding, and warding off Miſchiefs;

yet

yet are they willing to admit of Help, and can discern things profitable from Incommodious. And in truth the *Other* does not so very much surpass this *Virtue* of being *Willing* to be well inform'd in what we are ignorant of, and in a Possibility of coming to the Knowledge of what at present we do not understand. The *Philosopher* gives *Him* the *first Place*, that is *sober* in his *Deliberations*; and to him that is *Studious* of the *Truth*, and dispos'd to make a good Use of what is laid before him, the *Second*: In a word, that man might be the more conspicuously distinguish'd from *Brutes*, the *Creator* vouchsafed him the Blessings of *Reason* and *Liberty*; and of knowing things above the Reach of *Mortality*, being fledg'd with the borrow'd Wings of *Art*. So that whilst we follow the *Dictates* of our *Understanding*, we may be said to live in a State of *Dominion*. But yet how *despicable* a Creature (alas!) is Man, when *taken* single.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Vices *incident to a* Privy Council, *that a* Prince *ought to* Correct *and* Avoid.

I HAVE already told you, that a *Commonwealth* is a Body of People, compos'd of many *Families*, and subjected under *One Supreme Head*. And it is the work of a *Councellor*, to prepare *Remedies* as well for the *Particular*, as for the more *General* Distempers of it. And they are to be varied, according to the Diversity of *Times* and *Occasions*: for it is a Point of *Prudence*, to shift *Counsels*, according to the Change of *Circumstances*; and to accommodate them to the several *Aspects* and Necessities of Particular Cases. Because a Change of *Opinion* is then highly commendable, when it makes for the Better; nor is there any Fear of a Wise man's incurring a Censure of Inconstancy by this way of Proceeding, so long as he directs all his Endeavours to the Good of the *Publick*.

A PRINCE should be particularly careful of avoiding those Counsels that are bottom'd upon *Craft*, even though they should promise to contain themselves within certain Bounds; for they will never hold any great Regard to *Honesty*, in the *Means* of their Execution; and so equally detestable both to God and Man is a *fraudulent* Shift, that the Practicers of it do commonly pull down Misery and Affliction upon their own Heads. But if *Convenience* may be

be at any time preferr'd to *Justice*; it is to be done upon *Compulsion*, not upon *Choice*; and upon a desperate *Pinch* of *State*, that forces a *Prince* at any Rate to provide for the Security of *Himself* and *Kingdom*. For if he come once to make use of Crafty *Counsels*, out of a Habit and Custom, not out of *Necessity*, let him not blame any Body but himself; if his Life and Death be equally unfortunate and infamous. *Hen.* 3. of *France*, was a great Admirer of *Machiavel*, and some of our own *Kings* also have been censur'd for over much *Craftiness*; and what have the *Effects* of it ever been, but either the provoking of a *violent Death* upon *themselves*, or the entailing *Judgments* and *Calamities* upon their *Posterity*. Nay, so loathsome is this Hellish *Subtilty* to all People, that the bare *Suspition* of it is sufficient to turn a *Friend* into a *Foe*, and to quicken the *Malice* of a *sleeping Enemy*. Now the *first* Work of *Craft* is to cast a *Mist* before the Eye of the *Mind*; and then to represent to it, that by the Means of this wicked *Policy*, even the World it self may be turn'd *Topsy Turvy*, and that the profitable Ends proposed can never be gain'd but by its Assistance: But do we not see in our daily *Experience*, that those that endeavour to enlarge their *Estates*, by the General Disturbance of the *Universe*, are commonly thrust out of their own Possessions? The *Dropsical man* thirsts after *whole Seas*, and is burst with a *Rivulet*. The *Prince* that addicts himself to such *Little Arts*, divests his Ministers of the Use of their *Judgments*, and (let their Affection for *Integrity* be never so real) makes them Sacrifice all to *Pleasure*, and to labour the purchasing the Reputation of Wise men by Fraud and Cunning, though it never was capable of producing any thing but a *Shark*: and thus he creates to himself as many *Foxes*, as he has *Counsellors*. Such *Princes* are prone to reckon upon those as their ablest and trustiest *Servants*, who do the most frankly subscribe to their *Opinion*: when as the essential Qualifications of a true *Statesman* are, *Judgment* to distinguish things Just and Decent, and after *That*, a resolute *Constancy* to put them into Act. Let a *King* take special Heed to those Councellors that seem to be composed of a *Spirit* of *Contradiction*; for these men labour only to set off their own *Wit*, and are of no Use, but to inject *Difficulties*, and to raise *Objections* against the most wholsome Advices; being Enemies to all *Interests* both *Publick* and *Private*. *Truth* becomes never the more perceptible by a *confused Canvassing*. *Plato* tells us, that a temperate *Scrutiny* is as much a *Mother* to *Verity*, as an obstinate *Contention* is a *Stepdame* to *Prudence*. Those *Opinionative* men also that affect to be accounted the Great *Masters*

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of *Diſcretion*, are utterly unfit for the honourable Charge of a *Privy-Counſellor*, becauſe they will labour to appropriate all to themſelves, and to decry the moſt commodious Propoſals, if they happen not to be of their own Suggeſting; and obſtinately to confront their own *Whimſies*, to the *Reaſonable Projects* of any other. Such People will be content to remain in *Ignorance*, rather than ſubmit to be better inform'd, and to know *nothing* at all of a Buſineſs, than ſtoop to ask a *Queſtion*. I reckon upon *three* ſorts of *Unhappy* men. The *Firſt* have *Brains* in their Heads, but no Body is the better for them; The *Second* will *promiſe fair*, but *Perform* nothing. And the *Third* and *Worſt* ſort are not meer *Naturals* 'tis true, but yet incapable of any tolerable *Improvement*. *Solomon* deſir'd of *God* an *Underſtanding Heart*, and a man that is *modeſtly Ignorant*, is not ſo dangerous to a *State*, as he that is *inſolently Wiſe*; becauſe the *one* reſts ſatisfy'd with the *Conduct* of his *Superiours*; whereas the *other* intruding himſelf into all *Debates*, accounts it a mighty leſſening of his *Parts*, not to have his *Opinion* paſs for Current in all Caſes, without Controul. *Plato* ſays well that there is no *Folly* ſo pernicious, as that which walks under the Maſk of *Prudence*, and takes upon it ſelf as the *Quinteſcence* of *Wiſdom*.

CHAP. V.

Of the Parts *that Qualifie a* Miniſter *for a Seat in the* Council.

AS to the more Honourable ſort of *Miniſters*, they may be divided into *four* Parts; *Counſellors*, *Military Officers*, *Juſtices* and thoſe *Courtiers* that do immediately attend upon the *King*'s Perſon, in his Travels. Now though theſe are born to a *Private* Condition, yet ought they all to be qualifi'd for the Management of a *Scepter*: becauſe the *Commonwealth* will flouriſh or decay in Proportion to their Inclinations and Capacities to ſerve it; it not being to be ſupported without *Heroick Atchievments*, and they are the *Princes Inſtruments*, by which to effect them. To the compleating of a Perfect *Counſellor*, both *Nature* and *Art* is requiſite; and he is the *ableſt* that has the greateſt ſhare of *Both*. *Wit* and *Honeſty* are deriv'd from *Nature*, but for *Induſtry* and the *Virtues*, we ſtand in a great Meaſure indebted to *Art*; the *one* furniſhing *Matter*, and the *other*,

Form. A *Wit* that is Acute and Elevated ſeldom falls upon that which is *eaſie* and *convenient*; becauſe it commonly ſpends it ſelf upon *novel Projects*, and *immature Deliberations*. *Tiberius* (a *Prince* of a piercing *Judgment*) made Choice of ſuch *Miniſters*, whoſe *Spirits* were not over *Volatile*, but poys'd and equal to their Buſineſs. On the *other* ſide, *Lewis* the 11*th* of *France* is generally cenſur'd of having haſten'd his own Ruine, by preferring ſuch *Wits* as were of too fine and delicate an Edge. The *Athenians* by the very ſame *Overſight*, were driven to undergo *five* ſeveral Changes of their *Government*, in a ſmall Space of Time. Whereas the *Venetians* (contrarywiſe) do attribute the Continuance of their *Proſperity* to their being govern'd by moderate *Heads*; The fruitfulleſt *Trees* are the ſhorteſt liv'd, their *Roots* decaying by being ſurcharg'd with Juice: and *Exquiſite Remedies* are obſerv'd to deſtroy more than they cure; let the *Counſellor* therefore be of a ready *Wit*, grave of *Judgment*, and ripe in *Experience*. Where Strength of *Nature* is wanting, great Performances are not to be expected from ſuch a man, becauſe he is oblig'd to follow his *Genius*, and to ſquare his *Actions* by his *Abilities*. Without *Virtue* no man can be a good *Stateſman*, becauſe he muſt conſult his *Conſcience* in all his Proceedings, and take his Aim by the Mark of *Piety*. Where there is Honeſty of *Life*, and Equality of *Mind*, prudent and equitable Undertakings are inſeparable. King *Alphonſus* (Sirnam'd the *Wiſe*) preferr'd *Friendſhip* and *Affection* in a Counſellor above all other Conſiderations; alledging this Reaſon, *That the Blindneſs of Love is moſt quick in diſcerning the Good of a Friend.* It was *Ariſtotle*'s Advice to *New Courtiers*, that they ſhould *weep* when their Maſter *wept*, and when he ſmil'd, do the *like*. This *Counſel* now, had it come from an *Enemy*, would have been ſuſpitious, but from a *Friend*, it is valuable. We may find the very *Archetype* of true *Friendſhip* in the *Blood* of our Bodies; for that is always at hand, let the Wound be never ſo ſuddain or accidental; and the *Drops* of it are *Natures Tears*, (as it were) by which ſhe laments, and ſolaceth the Anguiſh of the Hurt. And hence we may learn, that to *Refieſe* Help in time of Need, is cheaper than to *ask* it, becauſe *that coſts us very dear, which we purchaſe with our Prayers.* Now the Counſellors *Reſolution* ought to be agreeable to the Matter in Debate, and neither inclining to a ſloathful Timidity on the *one* hand, nor to a precipitate Raſhneſs on the other. *Marcius Agrippa* was very fortunate in this Particular; ſo that he ſeldom undertook any thing which he went not thorow-ſtitch with; the Succeſs ſtill anſwering his Pains, and the Happineſs of the Iſſue equalling his exempla-

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ry Perſeverance. Fear does many times conceal it ſelf under the Pretence of *Caution*, and that which carries the Appearance of *Maturity*, is in Truth, but a *Feebleneſs* of *Spirit*: And it fares ill with that People, who are oblig'd to pay the ſame Veneration to the *Shadow* of Virtue, as to the *Subſtance*; *Idolatry* being a Grievance at the beſt; but much more ſo, when by Strength of hand it is impoſed as *True Worſhip*.

IT is found *Policy* to preſerve as *Secret* as poſſible all Decrees and Reſolutions of *State*; as an infallible means to heighten the Reverence of the *Subject*, and the Apprehenſions of the *Enemy*; becauſe from the *Cloſeneſs* wherewith a thing is manag'd, the *People* are induced to *hope* for, and *Enemies* to *dread* the Production of ſomething great and extraordinary. Nay this *Rule* is to be obſerv'd even in Buſineſſes of ſmall Moment; for if there be *Misfortune* in the Caſe, the unſeaſonable Divulging of it terrifies and abaſhes the Multitude; and on the other ſide the News of any advantagious *Succeſſes* works them up firſt into *Confidence*, and then into *Security*, which is the moſt dangerous Condition of all others. Let me in the next place recommend *Ingenuity* to the Practice of the *Counſellor*, for he ought to be the great Example of *Truth*, and to prefer the *Publick-Weal* to all *By-reſpects* whatſoever. He ſhould alſo be of a generous Temper, that ſo he may adviſe the Prince for the beſt, if he chance to forget himſelf; for a modeſt Uſe of this Freedom is both profitable to the *Prince*, and laudable in the *Miniſter*. He ſhould alſo be continually rendering a Gracious Prince the Thanks and Acclamations of his People, for the great Concern he is pleas'd to expreſs for their Welfare. How many ſolemn *Feſtivals* did the *Romans* yearly conſtitute, upon which to return their *Conſuls* Thanks for the Juſtice and Moderation of their Government; the Intent of ſuch publick Expreſſions being to encourage them in their well Doings, and to put their Vices to the Bluſh, by the Undeſervedneſs of the Commendation.

FOR the *Quality* of a *Privy Counſellor*, I look upon *Noblemen* to be the moſt fit; becauſe Experience tells us, that thoſe things are the beſt lookt to, which are placed under the Truſt of the *Nobility*. *Alexander Severus* preferr'd ſuch as were Learned in the *Law*: He was train'd up under *Ulpian*, by the help of whoſe Precepts and Inſtructions, he became a Glorious *Emperour*. He alſo fortunately advanc'd into the Senate *Julius*, *Paulus Pomponius*, *Africanus*, *Marcianus*, and other equally deſerving *Scholars* of the Sage *Papinian*. *Auguſtus* was a diligent Reader of *Trebatius's Works*; *Trajanus* eſteem'd *Nemeiius's*; *Antoninus* thoſe of *Scævola*, and *Septimius Severus*,

rus, *Papinian*'s. Thus the Ship of the *Commonwealth* ſail'd moſt proſperouſly, ſo long as ſhe had ſuch skilful *Pilots* to manage her *Helm*. In thoſe days, the Knowledge of the *Law* flouriſh'd exceedingly; and being made Uſe of as a juſt *Prototype* for the new molding of the *Government*, the *Empire* by this means was put into a Capacity of ſupporting it ſelf for ſome Ages, againſt all the Attempts of its *Enemies*, and the Shocks of *Fortune*. This *Science* is an Ornament of *Majeſty*; it has immortaliz'd the *Memories* of many Great *Princes*, purchas'd them the glorious Title of *Fathers of their Country*; this it is that ſecures us in the Enjoyment of our *Poſſeſſions*, and is the common Standard of *Juſt* and *Honeſt*. Thoſe wretched Authors of *Romes* Infelicities, *Clodius*, *Caligula*, *Nero*, *Galba*, *Domitian*, and the reſt, whoſe Bruriſh Inſolencies ecclips'd the Luſtre of the *Empire*; were all of them profeſt Enemies and Contemners of the *Law*. Nor is it to be wonder'd at, that this *Great Rule* of *Equity*, ſhould find no better Entertainment, under the moſt unjuſt and licentious of *Princes*; becauſe they knew very well that *this* would prove a *Looking Glaſs* to reflect the monſtrous Deformities and Corruptions of their Lives to publick View.

THE *Romans* would not admit of a Stranger into their *Senate*, as judging ſuch a one as different from them in his *Manners*, as he was in his *Language*; and ignorant alſo of their *Laws* and *Cuſtoms*, deriv'd to them from their Anceſtours. Beſide that, little *Agreement* is to be expected from *Contrarieties*; Diverſity of *Thoughts*, producing a Diverſity of *Actions*. And where there is a Difference of *Opinion*, there is a *Predominance* of mutual Diſcord and Emulation; So that *Mecænas*'s Advice to *Auguſtus* to entertain none in his *Councel* but *Romans*, was moſt ſound, as appear'd by the Effects of the *Emperours Decree* to that Purpoſe, that was founded upon it. *Lycurgus* impos'd a *Law* of the ſame Purport upon the *Lacedæmonians*; by which he provided againſt any *Foreigners* being admitted to the private Debates of the *Republick*. *Clodius* follow'd the ſame Rule, and *Trajan* enacted that all *Candidates* for this Office ſhould have at leaſt a *third* Part of their Eſtates within the *Confines* of *Italy*. So long as Affection and a Maſculine Tenderneſs do influence in all a *Princes Actions*, they will be Juſt and Temperate: For *Paſſion* and *Hatred* are the mortal Enemies of *Reaſon*, diſturbing and confounding all things high and low, Sacred and Profane, when they once come to bear upon a *Looſe Rein*. The *Victims* of *Truth* are ſo very Rare, that it is almoſt become a matter of *Scandal* to *ſacrifice* to her. But yet

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Integrity will ſtill be venerable; eſpecially in our own Country, where *Merit* ſtands the faireſt for *Preferment*. Thoſe Animoſities that are *Hereditary*, we ever find to be the longeſt liv'd; for as *Fire* is contain'd in the *Flint*, ſo lye *ancient Enmities* conceal'd in the *Breaſt*. The Body of the *Flint* does not *deaden*, but *cheriſh* the Fire; and a *Heart* thus infected, grows daily more and more obdurate. Inſomuch that as by a ſlight *Touch*, the Flint produces a *Spark*, and that a *Flame*; ſo in the Caſe of a ſmother'd *Enmity*, the Fire burſts forth afreſh, many times, upon the moſt trivial Occaſion. *States-men* do liken a *Commonwealth* to a *Ship*, which lyes expos'd to a Viciſſitudinary Succeſſion of Calms and Tempeſts; and Death treading upon the Heel of Life; and there muſt needs be a *Community* of *Fortune*, where there is a *Community* of *Danger*.

BUT yet notwithſtanding what has been ſaid, there may ſometimes be met with in a Stranger ſuch a Concurrence of extraordinary Accompliſhments and favourable Inclinations, as may create in *him* a Title, and in a *Prince* a kind of Obligation to prefer him, and to intereſt him even in the moſt ſecret Tranſactions of State. In the Caſes of old Age, or Want of Iſſue, *Nature* will admit of the *Adoption* of a *Foreigner*. It is but reaſonable therefore that a Prince ſhould have a Power to enfranchize them; For *Natives* are beholden to *Nature* for the Privilege, but *Strangers* to their own proper *Merit*, and to the Convenience of the Country they dwell in. Now our *Bodies* are the Subjects of this World, but our *Souls* derive their *Nativity* from the other. The *Mind* is a Citizen of the Univerſe, and reckons upon that Place where it likes beſt to be its own Country. Why do we not quarrel the Beams of the Sun and the Influences of the Stars, if no Body muſt be allow'd to do us a good Office, but our own Country men? The moſt *Glorious* of the *Angels* are plac'd neareſt the *Throne* of the *Almighty*; and a *Prince* ſhould obſerve the ſame Rule in the Ranking of his Miniſters; the moſt *Worthy* ſhould have moſt *Favours*. There may be three Advantages hoped for in the advancing of a deſerving Stranger, Juſt Adminiſtration, Credit to the Prince, and the Benefit of a great Example. I ſay *Reputation* to a Prince; for if he *prefer* Strangers upon the bare Score of their *Virtue*, it will be known that he values *Deſert* in a Servant, above all other Conſiderations. 'Tis true, *Art imitates Nature* in *ſome* things, but then it *perfects* her in *others*; and in this Particular of Honouring *Strangers*, moſt eminently, who by their Induſtry do ſurmount all the Difficulties and Diſadvantages of their *Birth*, and by the pure dint of *Virtue*, do advance themſelves upon a *Level* with

with a Princes *Natural Subjects*. They will be juſt in their Office, as not lying under the Temptation of ſo many By-reſpects as the other: and this is the Reaſon why diverſe States have generally made Choice of Strangers for the Diſcharge of publick Adminiſtrations. It will certainly be of *good Example*; for when the Princes Subjects come once to find that pure Merit weighs more with *him*, than all the Advantages of Bloud and Fortune, it will raiſe in them an Emulation, and a Deſire to advance themſelves to thoſe Offices by their *Virtues*, which *before* they might have hop'd for upon the Conſideration of their *Quality*.

POLITICIANS do require theſe *five* Qualifications in a *Perfect Counſellor*, *viz.* Prudence, Integrity, Conſtancy, Secrecy, and Generoſity. But I vote for Affection to their Prince, Fidelity to their Country, Zeal for the promoting the Publick Intereſt, an honeſt Freedom of Speech to their Sovereign, and that the Miniſter may not labour under perpetual Apprehenſions, when any thing is ill reſented. *Faith* and *Prudence* are oppoſite to *Folly* and *Treachery*. And *Ozorius* would have the Princes Miniſters to be learned in the *Sciences*, indu'd with a large Proportion of *Experimental Knowledge*, well vers'd in the Study of *Antiquity*, dexterous in ſifting out of Frauds and ſubtle Practices; and provident in foreſeeing the Benefits, or Inconveniences that may happen to the State. So hard a thing it is to attain to the Honour of a compleat Counſellor! *Pliny* in his *Panegyrick* upon *Trajan* wiſhes them to be Faithful, Learned, and quick and ready in the untying of Difficulties. Some having undertaken to form a compleat *Counſellor*; and believing it impoſſible to find ſuch a one upon Earth, as they would recommend and approve of; they have given their Advice for the entertaining of a great Number, that ſo they may mutually correct and ſupply one anothers Errours and Defects. It is a common Saying, *Many Hands make light Work*; and *Truth* is there ſooneſt diſcover'd, where a great many do put themſelves in Queſt of it. And that *Decree* does certainly carry the greateſt Force and Authority with it, that proceeds from a general Unanimity of Opinions upon the matter of it. *Alexander Severus* never impoſed any Law, till he had conſulted his ableſt Miniſters about it, and communicated it to the Counſel of *Fifty*. The *Firſt* examin'd the *Equity* of it, and the *other* its *Convenience*, in Reference to the Subject. The *Carthaginians* erected a *Council* of *Thirty* of the graveſt Members of the *Senate*; reckoning upon all the *Sanctions* of it as ſo many *Oracles* from *Apollo*'s *Tripos*.

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It is indeed the *best* Councellors, rather than the *most*, that do provide for the Welfare of the *Commonwealth*. But yet a *Select* Number ought to be eſtabliſh'd, to avoid Confuſion, and the dangerous Effects of a preſuming Confidence. Beſide that, a *Secret* is not to be communicated to a great *Number*; becauſe, if it take Air (as certainly it will) the *Author* cannot be call'd in Queſtion.

CHAP. VI.

How a Prince *ought to Govern himſelf in his* Councel, *and in the* Choice *of his* Miniſters.

WHEN a *Prince* Honours and Prefers the moſt able and truſty *Miniſters*, it is a Pregnant Argument of the Excellency of his Judgment; for the way to make a reaſonable Conjecture of the Worth of a *Prince*, is to obſerve him narrowly in the *Choice* of his Officers. Thus *Moſes* among the *Hebrews* gave evident Proof of his extraordinary *Wiſdom*, by taking to his Aſſiſtance, in the Government of the People, the moſt *Noble* and *Worthy* amongſt them. And *Solon* elected Magiſtrates, in *Athens*, out of the Wealthieſt and moſt Prudent of the *Citizens*; and ſucceſsfully advanc'd ſuch to a ſhare in the Adminiſtration of the *State*, whoſe Virtues had before hand render'd them eminently conſpicuous and deſerving. *Lewis* the 11. and *Philip* the *Fair* (Kings of *France*) loſt themſelves, and were abandoned in their Extremities, by not obſerving this wholeſome *Policy*. And the very ſame Arts that do diſcover the Pulſes of the *Will*; do alſo divulge the Appetites and Propenſities of *Miniſters*. But where *Nature* has imprinted in us an *Antipathy* againſt any thing, it is not all the Artifice imaginable that can recover us into a Liking of it: We are not capable of *willing* that which we are oblig'd by this Powerful Cord to *Nill*. So that it is not to be expected that a Prince ſhould look with a favourable Eye upon thoſe men that he has entertained a juſt Averſion againſt: Kings commonly preferring thoſe whoſe Manners they find to run parallel with their own. But this erronious Choice may ariſe either from the Circumſtances of *Time*, of *Affairs*, the *Maligniy* of the *Climate*, or elſe from the looſe and luxurious *Education* of the *Country*, that is not able to produce men qualify'd to ſerve the Government. This Diſeaſe is predominant in the greater part of all *Aſia*, where the People are ſluggiſh & improvi-

provident, which may proceed either from their proſtitute *Slavery*, or from their effeminate Courſe of Life. Or this Error in point of Election may otherwiſe proceed from the *Princes* natural Diſpoſition to *Jealouſie* and *Diſtruſt*; that raiſes in him a Prejudice againſt men of extraordinary Courage and Reſolution; or elſe from the *Sicklyneſs* of his *Underſtanding*, whereby he is render'd incapable of proportioning each mans *Burthen* to his *Strength*; or laſtly, it may happen through *Facility*, that diſpoſes him to value *Favour* above *True Worth*; and *Artifice* above *Excellency*. But theſe Miſtakes have in Truth been of very pernicious Conſequence to all *States*; and to our own more eſpecially, by Reaſon of the ſtrong Emulation of the People: the *Engliſh* being naturally Stout, Sincere, Generous, Active and Prudent, and ſo eſteem'd all the World over. So that the Fault lyes not *There*, if the Government be not furniſh'd with ſufficient *Miniſters*: That Prince that would be ſerv'd by the ableſt *Officers*, muſt make Tryal of, Sift, and examine their Inclinations and Intereſts: He would do well alſo to give ſome Heed to the common Opinion that the People paſs upon them, who do many times ſpeak ſhrewd *Truths* in ſuch Caſes. And though it be no hard matter to deceive and to be deceiv'd; yet it is very much for *one* to impoſe upon a Multitude. So that moſt men are ſeldom better than they are generally thought to be. *Alexander Severus* after he had elected Governours of *Provinces*, was wont to ſend about their Names throughout the *Country*; and if he found the Peoples good Will not to ſtand well toward them, he would put them by, and ſubſtitute others in their Places. Let a Prince diligently look into *firſt* the *natural*, *then* the *acquired Parts* of the Perſon he deſigns to advance: and his Quality is alſo to be diligently examin'd: becauſe good Blood is uſually heighten'd by liberal Nurture; and the Reflection of his *Anceſtors Virtues* provokes him to an *Imitation* of them. But if all theſe *Qualifications* be awanting, it is in vain to hope for any good Service from ſuch a Perſon. Men that are *Cruel* and *Inſulſe*, are never to be made the Inſtruments of diſtributing *Juſtice*; becauſe they are naturally precipitated into Extravagancies, and if they do a commendable Action, they are more beholden to *Chance* for't, than to their own *Choice*; beſide that, at the beſt, the *Infamy* of the *Prince*, will ever ſound lowder than the *Fame* of the *Event*. Whereas, on the *other* ſide, thoſe that are Wiſe and Honeſt, do act well even out of a *Habit* as it were; and a Miſcarriage neither impairs the *Credit* of the *Prince* nor of ſuch a *Miniſter*; becauſe the Soundneſs of the Councel is not meaſur'd by the Succeſs of it. And

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certainly there is a vast Difference betwixt the *Just* and the *Unjust*, betwixt those that act according to *Reason*, and such as follow the *Dictates* of the *Will*: he that does *Just* things has no other Enemy but *Fortune*, who is sometimes *inclin'd*, otherwhiles *forc'd* to Favour, and comply with *Reason* and *Equity*.

IN his Choice of *Ministers*, a *Prince* should follow the Example of the Almighty, who never prefers the *Great* before the *Good*, but the Contrary. It is much his *Interest* also to be as often present in his *Council* as possible. Because if the bare Report to him of their Proceedings be sufficient for the authorizing of them; he will be able much more conveniently to order all things for the best, when he is assisted by his own personal Knowledge of all the Particularities of each Debate. Beside that, by so doing it will not be hard for him to sound his *Ministers*, and to discover their Designs and Intentions. By his Presence he will likewise encourage Loyalty, and cherish *Honesty*, *Care*, and *Order*: thus the *good* will mend upon't, and the *Pretious* (be he never so industrious to conceal his *Treachery*) be turn'd off. And yet he ought not to *Seal* up the *Lips* of his *Councellors*, by the Rigour and Severity of his Carriage to them; but only to set a *Guard* upon them. The very *Silence* of a Prince is many times more effectually perswasive than the Powerfullest *Rhetorick* of another man: for *Majesty* usurps upon the Privileges of *Eloquence*. Now whether this is fair or not, I leave to the Politicians to determine; but this I am certain of, that *Gold* and *Silver* are not the *only* Subjects of *Felony*; the *Mind* it self, and our very *Liberty*, many times running the same Risque with our *Fortunes*. *Tiberius* the Emperour, when he had a Mind to fish out the Sense of the *Senate* about any Business, and to conceal his *Own*, he would discourse in broken Phrases, and so couch his Words, that no Body should be able to pick out the Meaning of them. The *Usurper Cromwel* was also very good at this. *Augustus Cæsar*, would ever deliver *his* Opinion in the *Senate* the *last* of all; and this he did to the end that *Justice* might not suffer by *Favour* or *Flattery*. The *Consul* indeed was oblig'd to *declare* himself in the *first* place; but this Custom was very prejudicial to that *State*, because Authority many times got the better of *Reason*. So that it is not prudent for a *Prince* to disclose his *Own* Thoughts, till he has first heard those of his *Council*. It will also behove him diligently to intend the Matter before him; and not to suffer himself to be wrought upon by any other Arguments, than such as do

proceed from Equity. Neither should he so intirely rely upon the Judgment of any one *Minister*, as openly to prefer it to all the *Rest*, because *honesty* and the *common Good* is to be the drift of all his *Actions*.

But he must detest *Flattery*, as the most execrable of all *Vices*: For it wounds indiscernably, and hurts in disguise, always doing the greatest Mischief, where it pretends the realleſt *Kindness*. A *Parasite* is the mortal Enemy both of *King* and *Kingdom*; because, making it his only Study, *First* to insinuate himself into the *Princes* good Opinion, and then, to preserve it, he is ever ready at hand both to suggest and to execute any the most Hellish *Villanies*. To bring such *Pests* of Mankind to publick Shame and Punishment, is a Work truly worthy a Princes Care. There goes a Story of *John* the Second *King* of *Portugal*, (who was Excellent at detecting of Flatterers) that being solicited by one of his *Courtiers*, for the Grant of an *Office* that was Vacant, he should give him this *Answer*, *I reserve this Place for one that never spake to please me.* And *He* certainly will make the Truest *Servant* of the *Government*, that cannot buckle himself to an unmanly Fawning *Compliance*.

PART II.

Of the Second Principle *of* Political Reason.

CHAP. I.

Of the Knowledge *that a* Prince *ought to have of the* Natural Bent *and* Disposition *of his* People.

HAVING thus far discourſed of *COUNCEL*, as the *First Principle* of *Policy*; I shall now proceed to treat of the *Second*, which I have already told you is *STRENGTH*; or the Result of a Complication of these *Five* Particulars, Loyalty, Munificence, Tranquillity, Arms and Treasure. The Generosity,

nerosity, Justice, and Clemency of the Prince produces the *First*. The *Second* arises from his own Courage, the Martial Genius of his own People, and the Power of his Military Provisions. His Activity, the Affections of his Subjects, and his Foreign Leagues and Allyances create the *Third*. The *Fourth* flowes from his Abilities in matter of *War*, his Successes, and the largeness of his *Exchequer*. And the *Fifth* is acquired by the Freedom of Traffick and Commerce, and the Moderation of his Expences and Taxes. Now that *Prince* that would gain these several Advantages, must give great Heed *to*, and make a good Use *of* the Instruments of *Government*; such are the *Faculty* of sifting the Temper and Inclinations of the *Subjects*, the Commendable *Prudence* of Establishing wholesome Laws, *Experience* in Warlike Affairs, a Regard to the securing of the Publick Peace, *Quickness* in discerning of Futurities, *Sedulity* in Strengthning and enlarging the Limits of the Kingdom, *Judgment* to pierce into the Affections and Counsels of his Neighbouring *Princes*, and a lucky *Dexterity* in Composing of Differences. I shall also recommend a *Ripeness* in Deliberating, *Resolution* in Executing, *Constancy* to his Purposes, *Fortitude* in Adversity, in Prosperity *Moderation*. In a Word, he must be so steddy and composed in *Religious Concernments*, as not slothfully to warp towards *Superstition* on the *One* Hand, and to *Insolence* and *Presumption* on the other. But these several *Branches* may be reduced under *Four* General Heads, *viz. First*, a perfect Knowledge of the Nature and Disposition of his Subjects. *Secondly*, the important Skill of managing Proceedings of *War*. *Thirdly*, his First Actions after his coming to the *Crown*: and *Fourthly*, Administration of Justice, The two *First* of these fall under this Second Fundamental of *Policy*; but the other relate to the *Third*, and shall be spoken of in their proper Place.

AFTER that the Prince by the First Actions of his Reign has given proof of his Sufficiency for so glorious a Charge; and after he has furnish'd himself with such Councellors and other Ministers as are necessary for the Support of his Royal Dignity; let it be his next Work to study the Affections and Inclinations of his People. But in regard that to walk by Rules, would be exceeding Tedious, over and above the Uncertainty of such Prescriptions by reason of the great Variety of Circumstances and Contingences that alter the State of things; there can be no proper Reme-

dies offered till the Quality of the Disease be known, and the Temper of the Subjects throughly understood. We find it by Experience, that the secret *Virtue* of the *Stars*, and the *Influence* of the *Heavens*, have appropriated to each respective *Region*, certain *Peculiarities* that not only distinguish one *People* from another in point of *Natural* Propensity and Disposition, but even in their very *Manners* also. A Diversity of Cœlestial *Impulses* causes a *Contrariety* of *Actions* and *Inclinations*; a different *Temperament* of the *Blood* expresses it self in a different way of *Living*. And then of so great Force is the *Education* of a Countrey, that it is capable of altering and inverting the *Order* even of Common Nature it self. And a *Tutor* is many times more Powerful than a *Parent*; Custom being there rightly called a *Second Nature*, where Nature is made the *Custom* of the *Country*. A Wise *Prince* will also consider and reflect upon Humane *Frailty*, and not expect *Iron* where he knows there is but *Clay*: He will also search into the uttermost Recesses of *Nature*; and by this observation upon the *Passions* and *Education* of Particular Persons, be capacitated for the Application of Particular *Remedies*. This *Study* will not cost much Sweat, even to arrive at some degree of Perfection in't: For, to be willing is the better half of the Work. Those things that are publickly durted among the Common People, cannot but be Trivial and Vulgar. The most Skilful *Horseman* that is, will never be able to fit his Horse with a Bridle, till he has perfectly informed himself of the Quality of his *Temper*. And it is as little to be expected that a Prince should Govern his People with Credit and Equity, so long as he remains Ignorant of the Natural Drift and Bent of their *Affections*. *Private Manners* are to be regulated by *Private Instructions*: And although Justice both *Distributive* and *Punitive* directs its *Theory* to the Common Race of *Mankind*; yet when it comes once to be reduc'd into *Practice*, there must be respect had to Private Affections, and to the different *Genius* of this or that Respective *People*. And so great is the *Variety* in this Particular, that it is hardly possible for any *Prince* that is defective in this *Part* of his *Policy*, to Govern his People with Equity and Reputation.

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CHAP. II.

Of the Diversity *of* Countreys *and* Climates.

HE that goes about to treat the People of *Asia* with more Humanity than the *Turkish* Policy approves of, instead of *Establishing*, would certainly overthrow the *Empire* of it. Because that part of the World, (either through the effeminate *Institution* of the Country, the *Influence* of the Climate, or *both* together) produces commonly a Race of men so basely Servile and untractable, that Gentleness and good Usage utterly spoils them; and they are only to be kept to their *Duty* by the Iron Rod of *Rigour*. But, on the *other* side, to attempt the establishing of the same Tyranny here in *Europe*, would most certainly be the Destruction of the *Author*, and of the *People*. The *Northern* parts of it are Stomachful, chearful, of a Masculine Integrity, Mature in their Deliberations, and invincibly constant to their Resolves. The *Southern* being naturally inclin'd to Caution and Craftiness, are much better at Subtilty and Artifice, than at down right Force. So that they lye more obnoxious to the Lash of Tyranny; being Slaves to the Powerful, and Insolent when they have to do with Sluggards; nay they are wonderfully dispos'd to *Superstition*, *Magick* and *Astrology* being of their Invention. The *middle* betwixt these do equally participate of *both* Extremes; and are Modest, Temperate, Prudent Enemies to Shifts and Cruelty; govern'd by Justice and Reason; are politick at Home, valiant in their Wars abroad, and ambitious of enlarging the Bounds of their Country by Conquest. Those that inhabit the Extremities both of *North* and *South*, are generally Stupid and Blockish; being either through Excess of *Cold* confounded with a Superabundance of *Flegm*, on the *one* hand; or by too much *Heat* stupify'd with *Melancholy* on the *other*. The Air of *England* is temperate, and stirs up the People to the Love of *Justice*, Courtesy, Generosity and Courage, being also highly susceptible of the Impressions of *Learning*, and *Prudence*; and are insuperably tenacious of their *Liberty*. Insomuch that the wisest of our Kings have constantly cherish'd and indulg'd them as *Children*, and studying to acquit themselves as true *Fathers* of their *Country*, they have by that Means wone from them both a *Filial Veneration*, and the *Duty* of

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Servants; the *Loyalty* of the *Subject* contending (by a grateful Emulation) with the *Affection* of the Prince; and so long as he valu'd himself as a *Creditor* in Point of *Benignity*, they ever approv'd themselves as *Debtors*, by a Spontaneous *Servitude*.

CHAP. III.

Of Military Discipline.

HAVING said thus much toward the perfecting of a Prince in the *first* Instrument of Government; it now follows that I speak of the Skill of Regulating the *Militia*, which is the *Life* of the *Kingdom*, and the *Security* of the *Government*. This will deserve much of his *Care* at all times; but more especially in the Case of Wars abroad. An overgrown *Peace* benumbs and chills that martial *Heat* that should animate and support the Crown; The *Prince* is as the *Tower*, and the *Members* of the *Commonwealth* serve as *Outworks* to defend and preserve the *Fort*. When the *Head* grows drowsie, all the other Parts do droop and languish. Let but a *Lion* be General, and the very *Hart* himself will be bold and adventurous, but make a *Hart* Chieftan, and even the *Lions* will degenerate into *Harts*. True it is, that all things are subject to mutability and change; but yet those Miscarriages are unjustly charg'd upon Fortune, that are the Effects of Sloth and Negligence. It is an Argument of a desperate Condition to depend upon the working of a Miracle for that which humane Means is capable of accomplishing. For Heaven can never prosper Lazyness, and a Dissolution of the Mind; it is high Injustice to make *Providence* accountable for our own *Carelessness*; and foolishly preposterous to hope to engage Favour and Assistance, by injurious Provocations. *Miracles* may then be wish'd for, when there is *Honesty* of *Intention*, but *Want* of sufficient *Matter*: and not upon an *Omission* of due Means, through Suggestions of *Sloth*. Because in the *first* Case we call down a Blessing from above; but in the *Other*, a Punishment upon our Unfaithfulness. *Philip* of *Macedon* took the Advantage of the Distractions in *Greece*, to unite and compose his own *Dominions*. Wisely computing,

ting, that by the Strength of *Unity* and *Concord* he should be enabled to enlarge himself *when*, and as *much* as he pleas'd. *Amureth* the *First* could never have fixt the *Turkish Standard* in *Europe*, had it not been for the Hatred and Divisions that were at that time among the *Grecian Princes*. *Occasion is bush-hair'd* Before, *but Bald* Behind; it may be taken upon the *Flutter*; but if it be once got upon the Wing, 'tis not the quickest Flight that can retrieve it. It slips away *unheeded*, and is not to be brought back again by the most pathetical *Entreaties*. In its Passage it both *smiles* and *frowns*, and the most precious part of an Event is sooner lost by *Negligence*, then recover'd by *Industry*. When *one* Prince designs to *break* with *Another* he must make use of *Prevention*, and possess himself of all such *Passes* and *Avenues*, as may be serviceable to him in his *Designs*; he must also provide before hand, for a safe *Retreat*, and never suffer himself to be coop'd up, without a *Back-door* to slip out at: Still taking Advantage of *to Day*, because what *to Morrow* may bring forth, is wholly uncertain.

AS to *Military Discipline* (which requires all imaginable Care and Industry) *four* things may be consider'd concerning it. *First*, the Universal State of Created *Nature*, and the common *Lot* of *Mortality*, by which we are destin'd from the very Cradle to submit to the Laws and Constitutions of men, and to undergo all manner of Toyls and Hardships, as the inseparable Companions of *War*, and the very Heart-strings of *Fortitude*. The happy Improvement and Incouragement of which noble *Virtues*, by the Means of prudent Sanctions and Establishments, is doubtless one of the greatest Benefits that a *Prince* can bestow upon his People. *Secondly*, Discretion in the Choice of Souldiers. For so powerful is the Influence of the Climate, and the Education of every *Country* upon the *Natives* of it; that it is hardly possible to render one that was born in a *Hot* Region, so resolute and fearless of Death, as he that came out of a *Cold*; Nor *this* again so Crafty and Politick as the *other*; and that Country that enjoys a wholesome *Temperature* of Air, and a Benignity of Constellations, does generally produce the most equal and useful *Abilities* both of *Body* and *Mind*. So that the Opinion of that *Prince's* being *most* happy, that has the *most* People at his Devotion, is not much to be heeded; because it is not the *Number*, but the *Valour* of the Souldiers that gets the Day: And bare *Matter* abstracted from the generous Impressions of Nature, is capable of producing nothing but

but Monsters. If a *Prince* be Lord over many *Nations*, it behoves him to raise his *Armies* out of such of them as are the most inclin'd to the Actions of *War*. *Thirdly*, the Magazines and Stores of Ammunition, together with the Quality and Convenience of Weapons; because *one* Province breeds the *best Horse-men*, *another* the bravest *Foot*; *This* the *best* Souldiers for *Garrison*, and defending of *Towns* against a *Siege*: *another*, the expertest *Seamen*. So that there is great Art requir'd to the suiting of every one with proper *Arms*; of which the *Romans* had great Variety: but how far they are worthy of Imitation in this Particular, I leave to those to determine who have had the good Fortune to institute the *Greatest* Souldiers. And the *Fourth* and *Last* Consideration relates to the *Five* main Duties of an *Army*; which are to *remove* a Camp, to *Pitch* and *Fortifie* it, to *Defend* its *own*, to *joyn Battel*, and to *lay Siege*. Nay, of so necessary and so advantageous Import is a perfect *Skill* and *Knowledge* in *Military Affairs*, that it is able to excuse and make amends for an *Insufficiency* in other *Matters*; and the strongest *Bulwark* against all Violences and Hostile Attempts, as well *Foreign* as *Domestick*. This *Discipline* it is that has rais'd both the *Fame* and the *Felicity* of the most flourishing *States*; of which ancient *Rome* is an eminent Instance, for by this single *Help* she supported her self against all Practices at *Home* and *Abroad*, and extended her victorious *Eagles* to the utmost Limits of the then known *World*. It is like a strong *Stomach*, that, when the Members labour under the sad Effects of *Intemperance*, works it off by pure Strength of *Nature*, and restores the Body to its pristine *State* of *Health* and *Soundness*.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Art *of managing a War.*

THE Charge of managing a War and conducting an *Army*, is of all others the most considerable; so that it is absolutely necessary for the Person upon whose Shoulders so weighty a Burthen is imposed, to be qualify'd with all the *Gifts* and *Excellencies*

cies that Art and Nature are capable of beſtowing; and with theſe *four* more particularly, *viz.* Perſonal *Courage* and *Generoſity*, Great *Experience* in Matters of War, Illuſtrious *Eſteem* and *Reputation* both at Home and Abroad; and a laudable *Dexterity* in the Diſpatch of Buſineſs. In all theſe Points *Julius Cæſar*, and before him *Hannibal* (the greateſt *Commanders* certainly that ever the World bred) were ſingularly famous. And although Fortune prov'd in the End ſo treacherous to the *Latter*, as to give *Scipio* the Advantage of a *Triumph* over him, yet was ſhe never able to deprive him of his Honour, or darken the Luſtre of his Glorious *Atchievements*. *Experience* is chiefly requiſite; becauſe the *Art* of *War* is not to be learn'd by *Speculation*, and poring upon Books, but by *Action* and *Practice*; for the Military *Academy* flouriſhes in the Camp, not in the Chamber; and *Time* and *Exerciſe* diſcharge the Duty, and ſupply the Place of a *Tutor*. A *General* ought to be perſonally preſent at the *Execution* of all important Enterprizes, and as diligent in obſerving the *Effects* of *Manly Performances*, as the *Events* of *Cloſet-Artifices*. For from this Knowledge it is that the Choice of Profitable and Succeſsful *Expedients* does proceed. He ſhould alſo ballance his *own* Force with that of his *Enemy*, be upon the *Watch* to prevent *Miſcarriages*, be *quick* in taking of New *Meaſures*, upon the ſuddain Change of Circumſtances, be *ready* to make the beſt Uſe of ſuch Advantages as the Overſight and Imprudence of his Adverſary ſhall afford him: and in a word be *able* to judge of the proper *Seaſons* to give *Battel*, with the moſt reaſonable Hopes of Victory. In his *Diſcipline* let him be careful to mingle *Sweet* with *Profitable*; for by Courteſy and obliging Addreſs the moſt different of People are preſerv'd in Obedience, and the great Diſparity of Manners incident to an Army compoſed of many Nations, link'd together in an invincible Bond of *Concord*. Such a Habit of the Mind is equally attractive of Love and Reverence; and *Cæſar*, *Hannibal* and *Alexander* were ſo happy in this Point, that it became the very Root and Foundation of all their famous Exploits. The Briskneſs and Activity of the *General*, infuſes Spirit and Reſolution into the whole *Army*: For although it be not *his* Duty to fight hand to hand upon all Occaſions, but to iſſue out Orders, and to manage all things according to the Rules of Prudence; yet without the Credit of his own proper *Valour* he will never be able to attain to any conſiderable degree of Reputation for Feats of Arms. His *Generoſity* and *Greatneſs* of Mind proves his *Advancement* to have been the Effect of his *Merit*, not of *Favour*, and is an effe-

actual Incitement to an Imitation of his *Virtues*. The Fruits of *Experience* give Life to his Authority and Reputation in the Army; and render him equally dear to his *Souldiers*, and formidable to his *Enemies*. It may be also worth taking Notice of, how *Fortune* stands affected to him; because she ever pretended to a particular *Interest* in Military *Transactions*, and especially in such Enterprizes as are dangerous and difficult; blasting the most Prudent, and well-laid Designs, and pursuing some great men with mortal *Aversion* and *Malevolence*. But there are *others* again so *fortunate*, either through the Benignity of the Stars, or (to speak like a Christian) the Favour of providential Blessings, that not only their Actions but even their very *Wishes* also do mostwhat prove Successful. I shall produce the Bloody Duke of *Alva*, and *Anne* of *Monorency* (*Great Constable* of *France*) as eminent Instances of both these *Truths*, the *one* of which was as *Famous* for his *Unfortunateness* as for his *Stomach*; the *other* inclining to a deliberate *Smartness*, was yet attended with so perpetual a *Felicity*, that he appear'd to have had *Fortune* entirely at his Devotion. These things consider'd; I shall recommend it as worth a Princes while, to take Notice of in his Choice of his *Officers*, unless the Scarcity of able men does oblige him to alter his Measures, and deny him the entire Liberty of his *Will*.

AND yet true it is, that most wise men are of Opinion that *Adversity* rather than *Prosperity*, is the *Touchstone* of true *Virtue*. Because *this* is commonly the Stepdame of Industry, and the Nurse of Naughtiness and Negligence: whereas the *other* is a Cherisher of Diligence, an Enemy to Sloth, and the *Mistress* of Prudence. He that has been pinch'd by Misfortunes and Calamities, is sober in his Deliberations, considerate, and always in Action: And that is true Knowledge which having suck'd the *Theory* off from our *Masters* we are afterwards driven to *Experiment* by a Course of *Miseries*. Adversity qualifies and Allays the Intemperate Passion and Ardour of the Mind, spurring on the Spirits, and setting all the Faculties awork to overcome all Difficulties: whereas by *Felicity* the Resolutions are soften'd, and good Councels lose their Effect by the Lingering Unseasonableness of their Execution. *Seneca* prefers that *Judgment* that by struggling with a Series of Adversity is come at last to be Proof against the Force of it. Because keeping the Affections under, it is capable of distinguishing things profitable, from the contrary, and gives eminent Examples of sound Prudence and Constancy.

fancy. And *Tacitus* produces *Livia* as a Great Pattern of Moderation; for that having tasted of both *Extremes* he neither grew slothfully abject under the *One*, nor disdainful and insolent under the *Other*. The Winds are able by an easie Blast to shake off the Blossoms, Leaves, and Fruit of a Tree; but nothing less than a Storm can affect the Firmness of its Root, which is never the better thought of for bearing stoutly up against a slight *Puff*. *Hannibal* frankly own'd that his *Miscarriages* had been more instructive to him than his *Victories*; and that for his *Prudence* and *Justice*, he stood in a great Measure indebted to his *Misfortunes*; and Hew'd them out of the Rough of Adversity; but upon his *Successes* he became rather *Heady* than *Considerate*. Where a man meets with a Current of Felicity, it hurries the Brain into *Giddyness*, and makes him carelessly to remit all things to the Guidance of *Chance*: and so either by his vain *Confidence*, or by his Sloth provokes Fortune to turn *Tail* upon him and desert him. That Prince now that falls into the hands of such men, will never be able to acquit himself of his Duty with Honour. Wherefore if he be abandon'd and impos'd upon, he cannot justly blame any Body but himself, that having the Charge of a *Kingdom* upon him he either would not, or knew not how to make Choice of such *Ministers* as might be serviceable to *him* and to the *Commonwealth* in all Conditions both of *War* or *Peace*.

CHAP. V.

Of the Several Sorts *of* Wars.

THERE are *three* sorts of *Wars*, with which a State is lyable to be infested. The *First* is where the Citizens do fall into a Tumult or Uproar among themselves; and this is term'd a *Civil War*. The *Second*, when the People take up Arms against their Lawful Sovereign; and this is call'd a *Rebellious War*. And the *Third* is, when the *Kingdom* is ingag'd in *Hostility* against a Foreign Power; which *Latter* in strict Propriety of Speech ought only to be call'd a *War*. Now to prevent, or to suppress such outragious Violences is the Duty and Office of the *Magistrate*.

BUT *Civil Wars* do usually take their Rise either from the *Youth*, the *Slothfulness*, or the *Inhability* of a *Prince*. And it is a Work truely worthy of him to enact such wholesome Laws as may obviate all Disorders in the State, and transmit it sound and entire to his *Successor*. He ought, in the first Place to exercise his Care in the setling and establishing of Religion; because any Innovation in that Point is enough to disorder and subvert the best of *Governments*. Also when a King is so very lavish of his Favour to any one particular Person, as thereby to distinguish him (by an extraordinary Degree of Elevation) from the rest of his Ministers; it not only breeds ill Blood in all of them, but also pushes on the *Favourite* himself to the Coveting of *more* than is consistent with his Allegiance; and either of these is sufficient to enkindle *Factions* at least, if not an open *Conflagration*. In the Case of a Practice to introduce a false Worship in Opposition to the sound one by Law establish'd; the People are hardly to be restrain'd from Rebellious Attempts against the *Supreme Authority*, as Judging the Bond which ties them to the Adoration of the *Creator* to be infinitely more Obligatory, than any Natural, Legal, or Spontaneous Engagement whatsoever. Some contend for an Exception to this particular Case only. But certain I am, that in all others, they are as well obliged to bear with the Infirmities of an *Evil* Prince, as to Love and Reverence a *Good* one: for otherwise, the common Order of the Universe, and the harmonious State of Things, would fall into inevitable Confusion. The *Civil Wars* of *France*, and the *Holy League*, with the Duke of *Guise*, the Head of it, that fomented them (of which our *Solemn League and Covenant* was an exact Copy) took Root from a Pretext of *Henry* the Fourth, his too much inclining to *Calvinism*. For although the *French* (of all other Nations) do adore their *Sovereigns* with the most profound Veneration; yet did they chuse to persue him to the Death, and involve the whole Kingdom in the most execrable of Intestine Wars; rather than they would admit of any *Change* of the Religion (shall I call it?) of their *Forefathers*, though it were never so much for the better. *Tantum Religio potuit suadere Malorum.*

THE Prince will ever find his *Zeal* for the *Religion* by Law establish'd to be the surest Gage of his Peoples *Loyalty* and *Obedience*. For it is very rare to be found that *Faith* is ever kept with that Prince, who by an audacious Infidelity shall perfidiously make a Defe-

Defection from the Lord of *Hosts*. But neither yet is he so far to presume upon the Obsequiousness of his Subjects, as to forget his Duty, and to degenerate into a licentious Slothfulness; for such is the Corruption of Humane Nature, that the People do rarely descend to so remarkable a Degree of Allegiance, as still to persue him with an Officious Constancy that has quite forgotten and deserted the Interest of the Commonwealth. Nay on the other hand they are now adays come to such a Pitch of *Boldness*, that if he behave himself Tyrannically, he will have Cause to fear a Tyrants Fate; if Unjustly, the Stroke of Justice; and by being unmindful of himself, and of the State, he becomes the artificial Contriver of his own Destruction. It may therefore concern Princes to take Notice, that by their Coronation Oaths they are understood to oblige themselves to administer Justice, and to provide for the Publick Safety; and that the same Law that secures them in the Possession of their Royalties, does also indispensably bind them to labour indefatigably to promote the Common Benefit, and Weal of the Realm. For the *King* and *People* do make up one Body *Politick*, that is actuated by the same Spirit, which, however distributed into a Multiplicity of Parts, is yet knit together by the Bond of a Reciprocal Intercourse. The *Princes* Losses do sorely affect the *People*; but *their* Damages are yet more afflicting to *Him*, especially if he feel them *Doubly*, and not only in the *Effect*, but also as the *Cause* of them. Now as the Head is the most noble and lively part of the *Natural*, so also is the *Prince* of the *Body Politick*; and consequently more obnoxious to Pains and Convulsions. *Rebellions* do generally take their Rise either from the *Levity* of the *People*, the unwholsome *Constitution* of the *Government*, or from the *Disposition* of the *Prince*. Where the *People* are tainted with a Lightness and Inconstancy of Humour, they do greedily gape after a Mutation of Fortune; and lay hold of any Occasion offer'd to compass their *End*. As if those things could reasonably be hop'd for from *Novelty* and *Change*, which are never to be acquir'd by a Regular *Order* of *Administration*. While a *Prince* is *new* in his Throne, it ought to be his *first* Care to stifle and suppress all *Factions*, and underhand *Machinations*. And two *Vices* he must be particularly careful to avoid, as the certain Seeds of Calumny and Rebellion; to witt, open *Violence* and *Injustice*, and a sluggish *Unworthyness* of his *Regal Fortunes*. Unhappy *Rehoboam* is a pregnent Example of an *Unjust* Prince; and *Sanctius* (*nicknam'd* the *Cowl*, because he put one on) among

among the *Portugals*, of a *Scottish* one. His *Slothfulness* does many times stimulate and encourage the most daring and disaffected of his Subjects to offer him Violence; and *Tyranny*, on the *other* side, foures the Affections, and turns the Hearts of his People against him. But yet it is an excellent Saying (whoever said it) *Although we may* Wish *for better Governours, yet we must* Obey *those we have.* Now the Reason that prompts a People to bestow the *Crown* that they have rebelliously wrested from a Weak Prince upon the most deserving man amongst them, is the Desire of obtaining a Generous *Head* that will govern them, (as *Members*) with Equity, and protect them with Resolution. The *Diadem* was invented upon the pure Score of Convenience, and good Government. And it was set at a Price, to the End that Princes might be the more tender of the Liberties of the Subject. In a Word his Abilities ought to be deriv'd from *Nature*, emprov'd by *Education*, ripen'd and exercised by *Experience*: and these Excellencies and Advantages do worthily qualifie him for the *Third Fundamental* of due *Administration.*

PART. III.

Of the Third Principle *of* Political Reason

CHAP. I.

Of a Prince's *gaining a* Reputation *by the* First Actions *of his* Government.

THE *Fame* and *Reputation* of a *Prince*, (which we have laid down as the *Third Fundamental* of *Policy*) does chiefly arise from the Opinion of his *Wisdom*, and the Terrour of his *Arms.* Now the *first* Actions of a Prince after his Coming to the Crown, do usually keep all men in Suspence, and fill them with Expectation, as being employ'd about the Choice of proper *Instru-*

ſtruments to ſupport his *Dignity*. And thoſe that pretend to the greateſt Cunning in ſeeing a Bodies *Heart* through his *Ribbs*, do generally lay the narrow Sifting of his firſt Reſolutions as the Foundation-ſtone of all their Conjectural Preſages. Giving this Reaſon, that the *End* of a Buſineſs is to be gueſt at by the *Beginning* of it, and the *Future* Actions by the *Firſt*. It is natural for us to hope for, and expect little leſs than Wonders from a *New* Prince; ſo that he is curiouſly ey'd by all, as pretending to a great Intereſt in the Excellency of his Mind, the Decorum of his Manners, and as well his Neighbours as his Friends and Dependants ſolliciting his Favour. By his *Vigilance* and *Activity* he does alſo grievouſly vex his Invidious Enemies; who are ſtill inquiſitive, how he commences his *Reign*, and in ſifting out his Diſpoſition; to the End that they may take Meaſures accordingly. And it is written of the *Mahometans*, that upon the ſending of any new Viceroy into *India*, they would ever be practiſing to raiſe Commotions and Diſturbances in the State, that ſo they might ſatisfie themſelves concerning his Genius and Abilities. So that it mainly behoves a Prince to be particularly careful of himſelf in this critical Juncture; and to be indefatigably induſtrious of imprinting a worthy Opinion of himſelf upon the Minds of his People. Which Point if he be ſo happy as to gain, he is not only adjudg'd highly deſerving of his *Preſent* Fortunes, but of all *others* alſo that *Time* and his own *Valour* may afford him.

It is a Rule that holds good in all *Crafts*, *He that has well begun, has half done*. Which cannot be apply'd to that Prince that has not labour'd by all Arts and Devices, to advance his *Fame* and *Reputation*. Now I would recommend two things to his Particular Study; *viz.* the due Adminiſtration of *Juſtice* to his People, and an Endeavour to promote the *Honour* and *Advantage* of the *Commonwealth*: and theſe may otherwiſe be thus expreſs'd; an induſtrious *Vigilance* to defeat all *Machinations* prejudicial to the State, to advance the Felicity of the Subject, and to enlarge the *Limits* of his Dominions. So that he may aptly enough be reſembled to a *Shepherd*; for the one ought to be as ſtudious of the Welfare of his *Subjects*, as the other is of the Good of his Flock; which Point he may then hope to gain, (and ſecure himſelf into the Bargain) when he prefers *their* Proſperity before his *own*. *Kings* ſtand indebted for the moſt Sacred *Ornaments* of *Majeſty*, to their *Parents*; for their *Scepter*,

to

to *Providence*; but for their *Strength* and *Munificence* they are in a great Measure beholden to their *People*. So that the sureſt way for them to arrive at the ſublimeſt Pitch of *Glory*, is to cheriſh and indulge their Subjects. For a *Crown* thrives by the advantageous and opulent Condition of the People; and the moſt flouriſhing Countries have ever produc'd the happieſt Kings. So that from a Complication of ſuch Actions as do expreſs a Prince to be *Religious* in Divine Matters, *Prudent* in *Humane*, and *Generous* in Military; will reſult the Illuſtrious *Character* and *Opinion* that is here commended.

CHAP. II.

Of the Religion *and* Integrity *of a* Prince.

THE Opinion of *Zeal* and *Sincerity* in Matters of *Religion*, is many times of ſo extraordinary Service to a *Prince*, that of it ſelf alone (if it be not empty and ungrounded) it is ſufficient to purchaſe him Reverence, Affection, and Commendation for the Luſtre and Brightneſs of his Virtues. If his *Name* and *Credit* be eſtabliſh'd among his People, ſo will alſo be his *Veneration*; for they will *Love* him as a *Father*, not *Fear* him as a *Tyrant*. *Religion* is continually upon the Watch to repulſe all Evils and Calamities from annoying the State; the Ruine of which may juſtly be fear'd, if the *Prince* come once to ſtagger in *that* Point. A *Religious* Diſpoſition is the *Glory* of the *Prince*, the *Support* of the *Empire*, the *Cement* of *Peace* and *Unity*, and the *Comfort* of Humane *Life*. And thoſe *Foundations* may juſtly be accounted *Immortal*, that are derived from *Religion*, and that are bottom'd upon the ſolid *Marble* of *Truth*, not upon the fleeting *Sand* of *Hypocriſie*. *Chriſtiern* (King of *Denmark*) may teach *Princes* a Leſſon by his Misfortunes: who was deſpoil'd of three Hereditary Kingdoms, and being coop'd up within an *Iron Caſe*, moſt miſerably compleated the Period of his *Life*. *Henry* the *Third* of *France* is alſo another unhappy Inſtance, being a ſtudious Reader of the wicked *Machiavel*. As to the Examples of *Antiquity*, though they be very numerous in this Particular, yet the more *Modern* carry the greater Force and Efficacy along with them.

Fraud

Fraud and *Superstition* are the infamous Quicksands of a *Commonwealth*, whereupon that *Prosperity* is Shipwrack'd, which would otherwise, by the gentle Breezes of *Conscience* and *Integrity* filling it's Sails, float aloft in the greatest Security imaginable.

SUBTLETY dashes it self against *Simulation*, and *Sloth* against *Superstition*. Pretended *Religion* is commonly the Destruction of the *Hypocrite*; and a *Wolf* is easily discover'd when she undertakes to counterfeit the *Lamb*; and *Fire* rak'd up in *Ashes* cannot long be conceal'd; to act the *Fox* in *Foreign* Negotiations is *odious*, in *Divine* Concernments, *Impious*: *Truth* rendring a Prince as *Venerable*, as *Treachery* and *Falshood* do, make him *Execrable*. *Fraud* is ever hurtful to the State; but much more pernicious to the Prince; for that it is reckon'd upon as an Argument of Wisdom, to over-reach a wily Person: and he that deceives *Many*, is at last deceiv'd *himself*. And when a Prince has so far abandon'd himself to the Practice of Artifice and fallacious Dealing, as never to be pleas'd, but while he is in *Masquerade*; it is presently cry'd up for a *Virtue* in any man that imposes upon him. All kinds of subtle and double hearted men, are generally detestable; but a fraudulent *Prince* is of all others the most despicably miserable: for in Commerce one *man* expects to deal with *another*, and not to have to do with a *Serpent*; values a *Friend*, not a *Wolf*. *Vice* is an Abomination to *Virtue*; but *Perfidiousness* is even loathsome to *Vice* it self. It might seem to take off from the Heinousness of our *first* Parents miscarriage, their being deluded by the Craft of the *Serpent*: But *Cain's Villany* could meet with no Excuse or Countenance even from *Wickedness* it self. Honest Arts (the single Case of *Religion* excepted) are become necessary in all *Transactions* of State: And yet rarely proceeding from true Prudence, they usually do more Hurt than Good; beside that (at best) they do border upon *Deceit*, which still degenerates into *Subtlety*. But yet to be cautious and wary, is highly commendable, for this *Simulation* is equally ignorant of *Fraud* and *Fiction*; whereas *Falsity*, on the *other* side, poysons the Heroick Integrity of the *Mind*, turns an *Achilles* into a *Sinon*, and is the Ruin and Destruction of *Civil Regimen*. Where you meet with a composed Countenance and a serene Brow, it promises the Fruition of Prosperity; and a patient Toleration of Misfortunes is an Argument of Constancy and Moderation. For a brave and generous Soul commands even *Fortune* her self; and being above *her* Reach it triumphs in the

greatest Calamities. But yet it is *Prudent* to keep *Secret* those things that it is *convenient* to *Conceal*; for no man is obliged to confess himself, when it is his Interest both to *Know*, and to seem to be *Ignorant*. It concerns a *Prince* not to discover those Affairs that in their own Nature require *Secrecy*. For he may be *reserv'd* without Injury, because this sort of *Gloseness* relates to *Simulation* only, and not to *Falshood*; beside that, an *Exact Judgment*, and the Faculty of keeping his own *Counsel*, are of his essential Qualifications. When *Alcibiades* was at *Lacedæmon*, he compos'd himself to a *Majestick* Port; and when among the *Athenians* he affected *Negligence* and *Facility*. During the Reign of *Caius Cæsar*; *Clodius* laid out for the *Succession*, by a labour'd Sottishness. *Tiberius* was also so excellent at this *Knack* of *Dissimulation*, that he prefer'd it to all other *Virtues*; he offer'd Violence to his *Inclinations* in Publick, that so his *Drift* might not be smell'd out; solliciting for Intreaties to accept of that *Charge*, which he coveted with an Extremity of *Ambition*. The *Emperour Frederick* 3. was wont to say, that *he* was not fit to *Govern*, that knew not how to *dissemble*. And *Tacitus* reports of *Agricola*, that in the Senate-house he was the most Reserv'd and severe of all men; and yet the most Gentle and Pleasant Companion in the World among his Friends and Familiars; labouring as much to appear *another* Man in *Leisure*, as to be accounted always the *same*, in *Business*.

MAJESTY (abstracted from all *Vernish*) ought to be inseparable from a *Prince* in his *Council*, and in all publick *Conventions*; and his *Carriage* in *other* places is not to be *Remiss* and *Facile*, to a Degree of lessening and impairing the Veneration due to his *Person* and *Authority*. As it is the *Excellency* of the *Work* that sets off the Skill and Ingenuity of the *Artificer*: so do the Princes *Words* advance an Opinion of his Wisdom; because they are look'd upon as *Real Acts*, or as the Life and Energy of them. And every man lays himself open by his *Words*, as by Colours and a Pencil. The *Tongue* is resembled to the *Helm* of a *Ship*; which although it be the *least* and *Loosest* Part of the Vessel, yet is it able to destroy or preserve the *Whole*. A Powerful *Speaker*, let him be never so Vicious and Atheistical, is in a Capacity (nevertheless) to bring Mischiefs and Calamities upon the best of *Governments*. And as the *Pencil* draws the *Features* of the *Visage*, so does the *Pen* express the *Graces* and *Virtues* of the *Mind*. Discourse is the Image of a mans Soul:

Soul: and upon this Consideration a Grave Person being to give his Judgment of a Youth, *speak* (says he to him) *that I may see you.* There is something of a Parallel betwixt *Words* and *Coyns*; where *one* stands for a great *many*; and a *many* go to the making up of an equivalent to *one*: the *Lacedæmonians* train'd up their Children in the Laconick Dialect; which is by a grateful Subtlety to express *much* matter in *few* Words; and though implying *more* than was *spoken*, yet still to *speak more* than could be readily *understood*. *Augustus Cæsar* to avoid both Defect and Superfluity in his *Dispatches*, would admit of no other way of arguing, than by the *Pen*, and deliver'd all his Answers in *Writing*, not by word of *Mouth*; providing by this *Policy* that no unworthy thing should *escape* him, nor any thing worth taking Notice of be *lost*. *Alphonsus* King of *Spain*, (Sirnam'd the Wise) recommended it as becoming a Monarch to speak *little* and *low*, giving this Reason for it, that *Talkativeness brings the Gravity of a Prince in Question, and a confused Clamour detracts from his Majesty.* And History tells us that *John* 2. King of *Portugal* made *this* Answer to one that being thick of Hearing desired him to speak a little higher. *It is enough for a Prince* (says he) *to vouchsafe a Favourable Audience; because it is consistent with his Dignity, to hear much, and speak little.* The Affections of his People and Dependants are to be wrought upon by *Beneficence* and *Clemency*; Nay, and even bare *Words* seasonably spoken are many times valu'd as if they had been *Actual Performances*. Amongst the *English*, *Kindness* and *Confidence* are the most prevalent Incitements to *Loyalty* and *Allegiance*; and the great Supports of the *Crown*. And *Jealousie* must needs be there groundless and inconvenient, where *Candour* and *Integrity* are the Natural *Virtues* of the People. *Diffidence* and *Suspition* must be temper'd like a *Potion*, where a *little* Poyson is rather wholesom, than hurtful; a moderate Dose of the *one* purges off, and corrects the evil Humours of the Natural Body; and a just Proportion of the *other*, has the same Effect upon the *Politick*. A Prince may ingratiate himself with his People by commending and encouraging of noble Actions; by Courtesie and Easiness of Access; and by Rewarding and Honouring of Illustrious Merit.

CHAP. III.

Of the Care *that a* Prince *ought to have, to prevent* Innovations *in the* State.

IT ought to be the main Care of a *Prince*, at his *first* Enterance upon his Government, to provide againſt all Novelties and Innovations in the *Commonwealth*; becauſe the infallible way to prevent *Faction* and *Sedition* is, to exact a ſtrict Obſervation of the *ancient* Laws and Cuſtoms of the Kingdom. And that *Prince* will never be able to keep the Crown firm upon his Head, that is tainted with *Levity*, and inclin'd to *Change*; it being a common Maxim in *Politiques*, that *Such Uſages and Conſtitutions as have been eſtabliſhed by* Time, *and fortify'd by* Experience, *will admit of no Alteration, but at the greateſt Hazzards. Fickleneſs and Inconſtancy proving for the moſt part as pernicious to the well being of the Realm, as Tyranny it ſelf.* But *Novelties* may be underſtood as referring to the *Prince*, or to the *People*. In the *firſt* Caſe, they engender *Commotions* and *Diſturbances*; and in the *other*, they are to be ſuppreſt in the Beginning of his Reign; becauſe *that* Time particularly, is obnoxious to ſuch *Practices*; and that more *eſpecially* too, when the *Actions* of the *Prince* do adminiſter Fewel and Nouriſhment to the *Humour*; which comes to paſs by holding the *Reins* of *Government* too *Strict* or too *Remiſs*. Where the *People* are naturally Vain, Perfidious, and Inconſtant, it will nearly concern him to keep a very ſtrict Eye upon them; for they will be continually hammering out ſome new Device or other to the Diſturbance of the publick Peace. The like Care is alſo to be uſed, either when the Skirts of his *Kingdom* do border upon the Country of a Powerful Neighbour; when he labours under the Ill-will of a Prince that is more *Potent* than Himſelf; or when he receives the State from the hand of his *Predeceſſor*, deſperately haraſſed and impoveriſh'd, by Inteſtine Diſſentions; and diſſolv'd in the Sinews of its *Commerce*, and the due Adminiſtration of *Publick Juſtice*. But the moſt dangerous Blow toward the final Deſtruction of it is then given, when too favourable an Ear is lent to the Propoſition of introducing a Change of *Religion*; for if *that* Part ſtand firm, the *Empire* will be able to ſupport it ſelf againſt all

other

other *Conſpiracies*. An ill Opinion entertain'd of a Prince, is alſo an Ingredient toward *Civil* Commotions; for if he be found *Inhabile*, or unworthy of his Royalties, it will concern him to apprehend and to provide againſt the moſt Helliſh and Rebellious Outrages; and the Perill will be yet increaſed, if he be ſo unfortunate as to deliver himſelf up into the hands of unexperienced and avaricious *Miniſters*, and diſcard ſuch as are honeſt, and well affected to the publick Intereſt: for he may juſtly expect that *that Miſchief* will fall upon his *own* Head, which he is preparing for *others*. To purchaſe a *Truce* or a *Peace* with *Money* is a notorious Argument of a Proſtitute Baſeneſs and Poverty of *Spirit*; and a ſubmitting to become *Tenant* to anothers *Will*; from a *Friend* it is reaſonable to expect a Courteſie; but he that has once ſmarted by our Means, is to be lookt upon as never to be appeaſed: beſide that the *Italians* tell us, that *it is Folly to put Confidence in a Reconciled Enemy*. But let him then prepare to arm himſelf againſt a Mortal *Blow*; when he perceives it bandy'd among the *Rabble* that he governs by Craft and Subtlety, and not by the Rules of Prudence.

CHAP. IV.

Of the OEconomy *of a* Prince.

TWO Things there are that do eſpecially ſet off a *Princes* Wiſdom; that is to ſay, the good *Order* of his *Court*, and the Diſcretion of his *Miniſters*; for it is a common Saying, That a man may be *known* by the *Company* he keeps: and we find it by Experience that the *Manners* of the *Palace Royal* are influential upon the *whole Nation*; according to the *Order* of which, every *Particular* Family regulates its Inſtitution; and every *Particular* man compoſeth himſelf (as near is poſſible) to the *Mode* of the Courtier. The *Jews* being ſeduced by the wicked Example of their Kings *Achab* and *Manaſſes*, plung'd themſelves over Head and Ears into *Lewdneſs* and *Idolatry*. *Francis* of *France* being a Learned man, inflam'd all his *Nobles* to an eager Perſuit after *Knowledge*. And on the *other* ſide, *Lewis* the *11th.* and his Succeſſor *Charles* the *9th.* being

being illiterate, and disaffected to the *Sciences*, propagated the same *Antipathy*, over all the *Realm*. *So powerfully does the Honest or Vicious Example of the Prince contribute to the Security or Destruction of the Commonwealth.* Now *that* must needs be a *Care* worthy of a *Crowned Head*, that tends to the cherishing of *Prudence* and *Justice*; and his *Example* being thus attractive of *Imitation*, if it be good it provokes the Subject out of meer Shame to the Practice of Piety, when they find that they cannot any longer continue in their Wickedness but by a publick dissenting from, and Defiance of the Proceedings of their *Sovereign*. So that the Subjects do usually keep an equal Pace with the Prince in the Path of Virtue; walking when he walks, and if he run, they do the like. His *Actions* are irresistable *Precepts*; upon giving due Heed to which, depends both their *Honour* and their *Felicity*. To observe strict Measures in his *Family*, will enable him to discharge the Duties of his Function with Equity and Commendation; the *Publick Weal* being chiefly a Participation of the *Domestick*. A *Painter* may express as much *Skill* in the drawing of a *Pismire*, as of a *Giant*; and *Lysippus* is not more celebrated for his *Colossus*, than *Polycletus* is admired for his *Perfect Chariot* under the *Wings* of a *Wasp*. It is *Aristotle*'s Opinion, that every *Family* subjected under one proper *Head*, is a *Little City*, and that a *City* under the Command of *one Prince* is no more than a numerous or extended *Family*. *Phila* was also of the same Mind; observing a kind of *Superiority* throughout all the Reason and Conditions of *Humane Life*. For look what a *Monarch* does upon his *Throne*, the very same in Proportion will you find perform'd by the *Governour* of a *Province*, the *General* of an *Army*, and the *Master* of a *Family*.

BUT yet it is most certain that the larger the *Room* is, the more *Lights* will be required to the supplying of it; and *that Candle* that is sufficient for a *Closet*, would be of little or no Use in a spacious *Hall*: and how *insufficient* do many then appear in a *Publick* Capacity, who in a *Private* State were look'd upon as highly able and deserving? *Galba*, whilst a Private man, was generally esteem'd worthy of the greatest Dignities, and all men would have judg'd him qualify'd for a *Tiberius*, if he had never been chosen Emperour; but his *Actions*, after his Promotion, sufficiently declar'd how unequal he could be to *himself*, and to his *Royal Powers*. Whereas *Titus* upon his Advancement as unexpectedly confuted those Calumnies,

nies, with which the Maligners of his Glory had ſcandalouſly beſpatter'd him, diſperſing by the Force and Brightneſs of his *Virtues* the vaporous Clouds of *Popular Odium* and *Prejudice*. Some generous *Spirits* there are, whoſe Vigour and Reſolution do gather *New* Strength upon the Increaſe of *Perils* and *Difficulties*: others again do *truckle* and grow *effeminate* upon the Encounter of *Hardſhips*: So that the *Soul* is the Life of *Action*, and no Wiſe *Prince* will ever commit any Offices of eminent Truſt and Importance to the Charge of a Raw and unexperienc'd Perſon. Softneſs and Humility in a *Private* Condition degenerates into a languiſhing Feebleneſs, in a *Publick*: and ſuch again as are over nice and critical in the moſt minute Concerns of a *Family*, are equally incapable of Commanding and Obeying, and do prove *bad* Servants, but *worſe* Maſters.

NOW there is no Queſtion to be made, but that *Virtue* and *Vice*, the *Tranquillity* and *Perturbation* of the *Realm*, and the *Reputation* or *Infamy* of the *Prince*, do in a great Meaſure derive their *Growth* and *Being* from the *Manners* and *OEconomy* of the *Palace*. It is alſo to be conſider'd, that there never yet was any *Prince* ſo Abſolute and Sufficient as not to ſtand in Need of Humane Help and Service; for, *Self-Subſiſtency*, to *want Nothing*, and to *give* to *All*, are the Peculiar Attributes of the *Deity*. So that a Prince muſt *make* men that he may *have* men; neither of which Advantages will *he* be able to gain, ſo long as by the Poyſon of a lewd Example he utterly ruines the *Bad*, and corrupts the *Good*. A good *Servant* is a Credit to his *Maſter*; and it is no ſmall Addition to the Luſtre of a *Prince*, the Temperance and Moderation of his *Domeſticks*; which alſo enhances the Dignity and Veneration of the *Court* it ſelf. It will alſo become him to contemplate the Frailty and Incertainty of *Humane* Actions; how obnoxious they lye to Chance and Miſcarriages. For *Auguſtus Cæſar* at the very height of his Proſperity, and upon his vaunting that the Empire was divided betwixt *Jupiter* and *Himſelf*, was yet never ſo far tranſported with the Senſe of his Happy Condition, as to forget the Treachery and Inconſtancy of Fortune; but would moſt ſeverely cenſure the Licentious Extravagances of his *Courtiers*, what Liberties ſoever he allow'd himſelf. It may ſometimes be excuſable, if not commendable, to be frequent in obſequious Addreſſes and Attendances upon the *Great*: provided it be done with an Honeſt Intention, and for diverſion ſake: for it is a notorious

Truth

Truth that *Courtiers* are generally as brittle as Glaſs, Servers of the *Times*, and by being deſtitute of *Sincerity*, do occaſion infinite Miſchiefs and Tragical Outrages.

NAY ſo tender a Concern ought a Prince to have for his *Reputacion*, that he ſhould be as careful to avoid giving Colour to Detraction and Slander, as of actual Guilt. A *Villany* clearly prov'd upon a *Subject*, brands him with *Infamy*, but in *him* the bare *Suſpition* is criminal. If a *Miniſter* diſcharge the Duties of his Office dexterouſly, it is *all* that is expected from him: But it is not enough for a *Prince* to be conſcious to himſelf of his own Innocence and Integrity, for he muſt alſo labour not to give the leaſt Umbrage for an Apprehenſion of the Contrary. If the *Servant* be *Honeſt*, his Work is done; but a *King* is obliged to ſet a Step further; and not only to *be* juſt, but even to *appear* to be ſo: In the *firſt* Caſe we are beholden to *Virtue*, and in the *other* to *Fortune*; for though it be in every mans Power to *make* himſelf ſuch as he is taken to be; yet it is a particular Grace of *Fortune* to be *Thought* to *be* what he really *is*. It is no hard Matter for a man to preſerve his Honour unteinted with any heinous Offence; but the *Engliſh* are not willing to admit of any one as truly *Honeſt*, that keeps not himſelf clear from the very *Suſpicion* of *Injuſtice*; it being natural to *them* to deteſt Infamy, and to abominate Vice. But a *Mean* is the beſt in all things; and it is an Argument of an invidious and reprobate Spirit to harbour Jealouſies till they come to *Creep*, to cheriſh them till they are able to do *Miſchief*; and to give more Credit to *Hear-ſay-Vices*, than to *open* and *notorious Virtues*: It was a *Judgment* inflicted upon our *firſt* Parents for their Tranſgreſſion, that their *Poſterity* ſhould be equally liable to *Vice* it ſelf, and to the *Imputation* of it. *Example* works more upon us than *Puniſhment*. And it is the Glory of a *Prince*, to be a Religious Obſerver of the *Law*; to be *aſham'd* of *Publick* Crimes, and afraid of *Secret* ones; the *firſt* of which do wound his *Honour*, the *other* his *Conſcience*; to attract *Reverence*; and not to expoſe his Grandure to *Contempt*, by an *unworthy* Carriage. Let him firſt get the *Maſtery* over *himſelf*, before he pretend to enlarge his *Dominions*; and then his *Title* to them will be *double*, and as well the *Right* of his *Merit*, as of his *Birth*. And it is his *Worth* that ought to render him valuable above all others, and not his *Quality*; for it is far more illuſtrious to be a *Prince* by his *Virtues*, than by *ſimple Nature*: and his *Piety* will alſo engage both the *Affections* of his Subjects, and their *Imitation*.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of Distributive Justice.

OF such considerable Importance is an equal Distribution of *Publick Justice*; by attracting the Eyes, and raising the Hopes and Fears of the People: that a *Prince* ought to look upon it, as the great *Instrument* whereby to advance his own *Glory*, and the Welfare and Security of his *Dominions*. Now it may be divided into *three* Parts. *Commutative*, *Distributive*, and *Punitive*. The *first* exercises it self in matters of *Traffick* and *Commerce*; and in the common Offices of *Giving* and *Receiving*. The *Second* consists in distributing of *Honours* and *Preferments*, *Rewards* and *Gratuities*, when good Service, Affection, and true Desert do make a Claim to them. And the *Third* is employ'd in inflicting *Punishments*, in Proportion to the *Quality* of the Crime; whether Trivial or Heinous, Publick or Private. The Obligations of *Commutative Justice* are discharged by the *Princes* chusing of able Ministers; *keeping* a strict Eye over their Actions and Behaviour; and *preventing* any Occasion of Grievance or Complaint, by preserving every man in the great Possession of that which of Right belongs to him; Generosity, Prudence and Equity, do qualifie him for the *Distributive*. And the *Punitive* being of an ignoble and inferiour Prospect, will not require so *very* much of the *immediate* Care of a *Prince*; because he should ever be more propense to *Clemency* than to *Rigour*. The Emperour *Trajan* was so remarkably excellent in these several Branches of *Justice*, above all his *Predecessors*; that he had deservedly bestow'd upon him the Characteristical *Epithete* of THE MOST JUST. Some there are that have preferr'd *Distributive Justice*, as more essential to the Well-being of a *State*, than *Commutative*: because the adjudging to *this* man what properly belong'd to *That*, amounts to little more than a *Private* Injury. Whereas the honouring and enriching of an *Unworthy* Person, compleats an Injurious Affront upon all the well-deserving *Gentlemen* in the Kingdom: and in Truth there is a great Difference betwixt the exasperating of *two* or *three Litigious* Fellows, and the creating of *Ill Blood* in the *whole Body* of the *Nobility*. In time of *Peace*, such Practices are accounted *Tyrannical*; and of *War*, *Pernicious*. So that in *all* Seasons great Caution is to

be us'd in *this* Case, but especially in *Turbulent*, because Envy and Discontent have prov'd the Ruine of the most flourishing *Empires*. This *Error never* fails of *Souring* the Peoples *Affections*; but in times of *War* and *Distraction* it is *Fatal*; Integrity, and a right Understanding among the great *Ministers*, being *then* especially to be wish'd for in an extraordinary Proportion. In *Military* Affairs also an unworthy Officer is capable of doing a great deal of Mischief, and to involve the Nation in insuperable Calamities; by provoking the Peoples *Fury*, beyond the Bounds of *Allegiance*: and hurrying them into *Rebellion*. *Thus* have the Bonds of Government been *lost'd*, Victory *crop't* in the Bud, Forts and Castles *Demolish'd*, and the very Prince himself *expos'd* to the greatest Perils. *So vehement and formidable are those Resentments that proceed from a wounded Honour!* To advance such to Places of *Trust*, as are destitute of necessary Qualifications, bears sore upon the *Princes* Credit, that prefers them, detracts from the Dignity of the *Office*, hazzards the very *Government* it self, by the Folly of their Administration; and makes such deep Impressions upon those of clearer Merit, that they can unconcernedly behold a Tendency of all things to Confusion, in hopes of bringing their King to a Sight of his *Errour*. It is natural to all men, (and to the *English* especially) to be impatiently sensible of the Loss of *Honour*; and account it then to be *taken away* from them, when it is *refused* to their *Virtues*. It sorely affects the *State*, the distributing of *Favour* and *Rewards* to the Undeserving. But a blind and inconsiderate Collation of *Honours* operates yet more powerfully upon the *Spirits* of the Nobles. Beside that the *Favourite* himself is never satisfy'd, but still gaping after more, and greater Preferments, and challenging them as his Due: for no Body knows how to *value Honour*, but he that *merits* it. It falls as a *Judgment* upon him that cherishes such men, to be perpetually tortur'd with Mutterings and Complaints; for these ungrateful Wretches looking upon themselves as injur'd, if any thing falls beside them, do still vex him with *Relations* of their *Wants*, but never return any *Thanks* for what they have *receiv'd*. So that a Prince ought to be very careful not to suffer himself to be overperswaded by the canting Entreaties of a shameless *Impostor*, or to grant that to *Importunity*, which he had deny'd to *Desert*. For by so doing he would erect a *Trade* of *Begging*, and encourage a *Violence* against his *Will*; *Virtue* would be starv'd, and *Impudence* always sent away full-handed. *Theodosius* lost his Empire by misplacing of his *Bounties*: And *Lewis* the 11*th*.

of

of *France* was within a very little of undergoing the *same* Fate, by the *same* Errour. For the natural Effect of *Miſtakes* of this Quality is *Scandal* upon the *Prince*, and *Miſery* upon the *People*. But thoſe *Monarchs* that have miſt this Rock, by carrying an *Even* hand in the Diſtribution of Honours and Preferments, have reign'd like *Gods upon Earth*, and rais'd to themſelves *Monuments* of *Immortal Glory*.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Private Favour *of a* Prince.

IT does moſt nearly concern a *Prince* to obſerve the ſtricteſt *Equality* imaginable in the diſtributing of his *Grace* and *Favour* among his Subjects. For by a *Violation* of the common Tranquillity of the Realm, a Confuſion of Counſels, and an Interruption of publick Juſtice; all *men* and *Conditions* are laid *Level*. And that *Monarch* that delivers himſelf up into the hands of a *Favourite*; ſlips inſenſibly into a Labyrinth of *Frauds* and *Deluſions*; which will be more or leſs dangerous, according to the Honeſty or Perfidiouſneſs of the *Privado*, at whoſe Mercy he lyes. It ſtood *Tiberius* in no ſmall Stead, his ſmelling out the Practices of *Sejanus*, and the extricating himſelf out of thoſe Toyls, that he was trapann'd into. And it put *Arcadius* hard to't, to ſound the Deſigns and Machinations of *Ruffinus*. But yet by his Indefatigable Induſtry he wrought through all at laſt. There never was any State entirely free from Enemies and Ill-willers; but *he* doubtleſs is the moſt pernicious of them that labours to enſlave the *Prince* to any one of his Courtiers, whom by the Impulſe of an immoderate Kindneſs he has condeſcended to admit to the moſt ſecret Conſults and Deliberations of the Government. For it is the Duty of ſuch a one to behave himſelf according to the Condition of a Subject, and not with the State and Magnificence of a Sovereign. Experience tells us that by a Princes diſcovering his *Weak-ſide*, and following the Dictates of an inordinate Affection; he not only lays open a Paſſage for his *Friends* and *Relations*, but alſo for his *Enemies* and *Emulatours* to take Ad-

vantage of. Here will enter the *Hopes* and *Expectations* of his Courtiers and Dependents; who will ever be ready to attribute *that* to the Kindness of the *Favourite*, which was in Truth the pure Effect of the *Princes* Liberality and Providence. Hence will spring up *Sloth* and *Baseness* among his Councellors; for there will still be some found amongst them, who to curry Favour with so mighty a *Confident*; will not stick most slavishly to fawn upon and crouch to him, and *say* and *swear* whatever he would have them. Nay, and which is worst of all, they will lose their *Freedom* of *Suffrage*, together with their *Integrity*; and demean themselves in the Council more like the *Humble Companions* of the *Court-Favourite*, than as *Counsellors* to a *Monarch*. Factions and Discords will be encreas'd, by the Malevolence and Emulation of the *Nobility*; and every man will sacrifice Truth and Justice to the Service of *that* Party which they hope to get the *most* by. And thus also will all Military Prowess and Vigour be enfeebled; because he will never serve his *Prince* against his own private Interest; and being oblig'd to cast about for his Security, which he finds to be endanger'd by the Irruption of a *War*, (though never so just and necessary) he presently sets himself to work either wholly to *change* the Resolution, or to *delay* and *protract* the Execution of it, as may be most for his Advantage. But if he finds himself unable (alone) to work about the Ends he drives at, then he calls a Friend into his Assistance, how unfit soever for such a Trust. And if he perceives the *General* of the Army to be less submissive and complying, than stands with *his* Humour; he labours so to obstruct the common Course of his Proceedings, as to frustrate all his well-laid Designs, and to disappoint him in his Endeavours to get the *Better* of his *Enemy*: By these lewd Arts he seeks to improve the Opinion of his own *Valour*, and insolently postpones his Princes *Honour*, to the Gratification of his *own* private *Animosities*. He will also have the same Influence upon the *Courts* of Justice; as having the *Magistrates* at his *Beck*, either through Fear or Avarice. For although the *Law* in it self carries always the *same* Face, and speaks the *same* Language, yet the *Expounders* of it (a sort of men generally mercenary and ambitious) do often turn it into a *Nose* of Wax, and mould it into so many Forms, that they may more rightly be term'd *Perverters* of the *Law*, than *Interpreters* of it. All such *Abuses* (whether done in Favour of a *Native*, or a *Foreigner*, comes all to a Point) do blast the Fame of the *Prince*, and expose the *Common Equity* of the *Kingdom* to *Questi-*

on and *Contempt*: for *they* especially, do labour under the Imputation of all the Mischievous Effects of them. Insomuch, that though a Prince demean himself with never so much *Prudence* and *Moderation* in other Respects, yet if he fall short in *this* Particular, either through an Obstinacy of Will, or an effeminate Softness of Disposition; it is sufficient to darken and suppress the Lustre of all his other *Virtues*. As to the *Favourite*, all his Care is to keep himself *Right* in the Affections of his Master, because he looks upon it as an undenyable Argument of his own great Abilities and Ingenuity, the engaging a Perseverance of the Princes good Opinion of him. And in Truth it is no easie Matter to preserve the Favour of such *Princes* as are naturally light and unsteady; and only constant in Inconstancy. Now there are *six* things that most *Favourites* are zealously industrious of acquiring. *First*, he endeavours to work the *Prince* into a Confidence that all his Thoughts and Actions are solely directed to the Service and Advantage of the *Royal Interest*, though never so *opposite* to his own *Private Benefit*. *Secondly*, he studies by Artifice and Juggle, to cast such a *Mist* before his Eyes, as may hinder him from discovering any thing in his *Carriage*, but what is highly agreeable to his own Humour and Inclination. *Sejanus* was the best in the World at this *Device*; for he so ingeniously counterfeited the Manners and Affections of his *Master*, that he seem'd rather to be *another Tiberius*, than *Tiberius's Friend*. And yet all his Craft and Subtlety was not able to secure him from the *Stroak* of *Justice*; for it is very rare that such *Vices* terminate, but in the tragical *Catastrophe* of the Cherishers of them. *Thirdly*, all the *Weaknesses* and *Infirmities* of the *Prince*, he is sure either to *Lessen* and *Palliate*, or by a Prostitute and Parasitical Flattery to *extoll*, as singular *Gifts* and *Perfections*. And this kind of *Adulation* is intolerably ridiculous, when imposed upon a *Shallow* and *Feeble Prince*. *Fourthly*, he is indefatigably diligent to remove from the *Princes* Side all men of *Honesty* and *Virtue*; because he looks upon all such as the mortal Enemies of his Treacheries. *Fifthly*, he leaves no stone unturn'd to bring an *Odium* and *Disgrace* upon his *Emulatours* and *Opposers*; but in this Case he seldom deals aboveboard; being very careful in *Harming* of his *Enemies*, not to bring any *Inconvenience* upon himself. And *Lastly*, the most cunning of these *Impostors* have ever behav'd themselves in all publick Conventions with the utmost *Servility* and *Obsequiousness*; but others again, being heedless of concealing their *Power* under so plausible a *Cover*, have run aground

aground and split themselves upon the *Quick-sands* of *Vanity* and *Insolence*. *History* furnishes us with divers Instances of such People, who under pretence of rendering their Princes *Great* and *Glorious*, have most impiously depriv'd them of their *Crowns* and *Lives*; and then stept into their Places. Only the Comfort is, that it fares with *Ambition*, as with the *Dropsie*, where the quenching of *Thirst* carries certain Death along with it. But yet they do still play on like desperate *Gamesters*; and when they are mounted to the *Acme* of Promotion, they scorn the Condition of a Subject, and will take up with nothing less than an *equal* Degree of *Authority* and *Veneration* with their *Masters*. Nay and beside the Danger of this *Monopoly* of *Favour*, it does also reproach the *Prince* with a Meanness and Pusillanimity of Spirit, as one that faints and languishes under the Weight of *Majesty*; and basely submits to put the *Royal Vestments* upon the Back of a Court-*Favourite*. And the *Mischief* spreads further yet, if the Person thus advanc'd be as unworthy as his Master. For if *Incapacity* be sufficient to shake the very Foundation of the *Justest* Title, how much more hard will it press upon a *Claim* of *Insolence* and *Usurpation*? For nothing certainly touches the *English* more to the Quick, than the *Folly* and *Injustice* of the *Court*; which *Vices* are powerful enough of themselves (without the Assistance of a generous Indignation) to unhinge the *Government*, and confound the Order and Harmony of *Civil Proceedings*.

AND yet in Regard that Princes are but *Men*, and consequently subject to *Errours* and *Infirmities*; it seems to be somewhat hard, to deny them *that Priviledge* which the meanest *Subject* has a fair Pretence to; I mean the *Society* of a *Familiar Friend*, to whom he may unbosom himself upon all Occasions. And we may read that the *Wisest Princes* have ever made Choice of a Person to their Liking, as a *Participant* of all their *Cares* and *Troubles*: Only they pitch'd upon such as were *Prudent* and *Modest*, and that would not improve the *Liberties* of *Friendship* to the Prejudice of their *Masters Honour*. Now this *Policy* has stood many *Princes* in great Stead; for by dispensing of their *Authority* to such of their *Subjects* as were truly worthy of it, they have gain'd great *Reputation*, and enjoy'd the Fruits of the Diligence and Fidelity of their *Ministers*, who were still generously Sollicitous of attributing the Justice of their own *Administration* to the *Providence* and *Abilities* of their *Sovereign*. Thus ought a true *Servant* to carry himself in all his Actions, by

giving

giving to the *Prince* the Honour of all *Successful Counsels*, and imputing *Miscarriages* to *other* Hands. The more Trusty and Faithful the *Ministers* prove, the more glorious becomes the *Master* of them: so that I shall again inculcate my Advice, for observing the exactest Care imaginable in their *Election*.

CHAP. VII.

Of Taxes *and* Tribute.

AS it is the Work of *Distributive Justice*, to observe an *Equality* and *Proportion* in the conferring of *Honours* and *Gratuities*; so is it also a *Branch* of the *same* Root, the following the *like* Rules in the matter of *Impositions*: for if the *Scale* bear too hard upon the *Populace*, it is enough to ruine them. The *Government* is then rightly administer'd, when it keeps off from *Violence* and *Oppression*; for then it will fare well both with the *People* and with the *Prerogative*. It is the Interest of the *Subject* to be liberal in their Contributions, toward the supplying the Necessities of the *Crown*, the defraying the Expences of a Just *War*, and toward the Defence and Security of the *Kingdom*. *Future* Calamities may be prevented by a diligent *Foresight*; and those *Darts* do us but little Hurt that we are aware of before hand, and have a *Buckler* in Readiness to break their Force. The *Loyalty* and *Affection* of the *People* toward their *Prince*, and the Bond of mutual *Charity one* to *another*, is the great *Pledge* of the Felicity of *both*. Nay *Concord* and *Unity* are more necessary even than *Justice* it self; because where *Unanimity* is predominant, *All* lye in Common to *Particulars*, and *Particulars* to *All*; and *Distribution* becomes superfluous amongst *Friends*. So that it is a glorious Work, the promoting of such Felicities. And *Moral Philosophy* will be of singular Use in *this* Case, the *Design* of which is to ciment *Affections*, to encourage *Honesty* and *Candor* in all *Civil Actions*, to reduce the *Precepts* of the Learned into *Practice*, and to distinguish betwixt *Right* and *Wrong*, *Virtue* and *Vice*. It is therefore the *Obligation* of a *Prince* to measure and regulate his *Taxes* according to the *Exigency* of *Affairs*, and the *Abilities* of the *People*;

People; and with a Regard also both to *Particular* Persons, and to the *Cause* of the *Expence*. And then on the *other* side, it is the *Duty* of the Subject to furnish their *Sovereign* with such Supplies as may capacitate him to *Govern* them with *Justice*, and *defend* them from *Violence*; which it is impossible for him to do, without *Arms*, and *Contributions* toward the Support of them. When the *Strength* of our *Enemies* about us, is grown so formidable, as to encourage them to undertake the Conquest of our Country, the Destruction of the People, the despoiling us of all we have, and the final Extirpation of our very Memory; it is much the safer and braver Course to hazzard our *All*, for the Preservation of our *Lives*, *Honour*, *Laws*, *Liberties*, *Religion*, and all that is *dear* to us; than through *Niggardize* and *Covetousness* to have it swept away (as *Plunder*) by a merciless *Victor*. Now in all *Exactions*, *two* Rules are to be observ'd; *First*, that all *Resolves* be executed by the *Gentlest* and *Sweetest Means* possible. And *Secondly*, That the *Scope* of all the *Princes Actions* be directed to the *Benefit* and *Security* of the *Commonwealth*. There can no certain Computation be made beforehand of the Charges of an Intended *War*; nay and even the very *Event* of the *War* it self is equally *uncertain*; so that there is no previous prescribing to *Taxes* in the Case; because the momentany *Variety* of *Accidents* and *Occurrences*, renders the *Expence* altogether as various. But both these *Errours* are equally Pernicious, *viz.* an unnecessary and tyrannical *Polling* on the *one* hand, and an avaricious Closefistedness, on the *other*.

THE *Pressures* of the *Subject* in this Point may be divided into four *Heads*; viz. *Peculiar Contributions*, *Personal Service*, *a Regard to Royal Immunities*, and *emergent Disbursements*, toward the supplying the Necessities of *Camps* and *Garrisons*. The *First* are either *settled*, and *Customary*; or *extraordinary* Additions to the *Revenues* of the *Crown*, upon contingent *Exigences* of *State*. The *Second* is engag'd either by entering into the *King's Pay*, or upon the Score of *Knight-Service*. The *Third* consists of such *Franchizes* as the Prince reserves to himself; as *Forrests* (for Instance) *Fields*, *Rivers*, *Lands*, and such other *Privileges* as are appropriated, and invested in the *Crown*. And *Lastly*, the Conveniences of *Camps* and *Garrisons* is a Subject worth insisting upon, if time would permit. Now common *Taxes* do then become *Unjust*, when they are either unseasonably and unequally *exacted*, or gather'd by barbarous and inhumane

mane *Collectors*, by whose insolent Carriage a *Just Debt*, is many times turn'd into down right *Extortion*. The *Extraordinary* are render'd *Criminal*, by being charg'd in a *greater* Proportion than the People are able to bear, and the practicing of divers *Arts* to erect *Monopolies*. And it is a great Addition to the *Grievance*, when the Money thus collected, is not employed to its *Proper* End; but diverted (by the *Treachery* of the great Officers) to the Service of *Private Interests*, in Opposition to *that* of the *Publick*. And yet even that *Tribute* that is limited both as to *Time* and *Proportion*, is not wholly free from a kind of *Violence*; because there is as wide a Difference betwixt a *Voluntary* and a *Compulsive* Contribution, as betwixt a *Frank* and an *Extorted* Charity: all men being obliged to have a Concern for the *Common Good* and *Welfare* of the Kingdom. But yet many are exempted from this weighty *Burthen*: either by the *Prerogative* of their *Office*, or the sacred *Immunities* of their *Profession*. An overrigorous *Exaction* of a *stated Tribute*, is both dangerous and impolitick; for it not only detracts from the Value of a Spontaneous *Disbursement*, but breeds ill Blood also both in the *Collectors*, and in the *People*; which, though it is no hard Matter to correct in the *First*, yet in the *other*, the *Distemper* most what proves *incurable*; now there must be an exact Equality observ'd in *this* Case; which may easily be done, by *assessing* every man proportionably to their real *Worth* and *Expences*. *Time* is the *Touchstone* of *Truth*, and it is most certain that Illegal *Impositions* are more *pernicious* than *Legal* ones are *Commodious*. As to the *Injustice* of *Personal Servitude*, it proceeds either from the entertaining of more *Souldiers* than the *Country* is able to maintain, from the *Covetousness* of the *Officers*, who do many times cause men to be rais'd and employ'd upon idle and unprofitable *Enterprizes*, only to squeeze *Money* out of them for their *Commissions*; or else, from exacting *Duty* from them without allowing them their *Pay*. So likewise those that by *Knight-Service*, and their *Dependence* upon the *Crown*, are oblig'd to serve it, when call'd upon, have met with very ill Usage many times, by being unnecessarily convocated. But indeed a true Friend to his *Country* will stand in more need of a *Bridle*, than of a *Spur*, when *that* requires his Aid; for to serve it was ever accounted *Honourable*, and to *dye* in the *Defence* of it, *Glorious*. But there are a sort of querulous and avaricious men that are perpetually complaining of the weight of their *Burthen*, and are more concern'd at parting with a *Penny* for the Security of the Kingdom, than at the imminent

Danger that threatens it. To preſerve the *Royal Prerogative* and *Perquiſites* from Violation and Encroachments, will be no very hard Task, provided no Recourſe be had to *Harſhneſs* and *Severity*, while the Work may be done by *Vigilance* and *Moderation*. For theſe *Regalities* are ſeldom put to any great Streſs, unleſs it be upon the Introduction of ſuch ungrateful *Novelties*, as do fret and provoke *Publick Humours* and Diſcontents. This *France* pretended to be her Caſe under *Henry* 3. and *Spain* alſo did the like, upon the Profits of the *Salt-Pits* being appropriated to the *Crown*. As to the *Conveniences* of *Camps* and *Garriſons*, the People do generally bear them with great *Uneaſineſs*, and *Regret*; and ſuch *Nations* more eſpecially, who are naturally prone to *Jealouſie*, *Parcimony*, and to live within a narrow *Compaſs*. The *Engliſh* have ever reſented them as an inſupportable Burthen, and borne them with more Impatience and Indignation, than any *other* People. The Exceſſive *Poverty* of *Philip* the *Third* of *Spain*, was chiefly occaſion'd by the *Injuſtice* in Lodging his *Army* in the Bowels of *Italy*. And we are able to ſpeak upon a dear bought Experience, how miſerable and calamitous the Condition of thoſe Countries muſt needs be, who labour under the Impoſition of *Free-Quarter*, and *Billetting* of *Souldiers*. And the *Conceipt* that reſembled it to *Mowing*, was queint enough; for the People are fleec'd and par'd to the very Root (as it were) by the licentious Inſolencies of ſuch *Boiſterous Gueſts*. A Grievance of this Quality that overpowers the *Ability* and thwarts the *Inclination* of the *Subject*, is ſo very apt to engender *Plots* and *Conſpiracies* againſt the *Government*; that to this very *Cauſe* chiefly, have all wiſe men imputed *Naples*, and *Millan*'s Deteſtation of the *French Government*; and thus it far'd alſo with the *Biſcainers*. Under the *Head* of *Diſtributive Juſtice* are alſo comprehended ſuch *Privileges* and *Immunities*, as the *Prince* has been pleas'd to confer upon *Eminent Merit* and *Virtue*; a Violation of which either in the whole, or in Part, do work up Diſcontents to a dangerous Pitch, and ſtretch the ſacred Obligations of the *Coronation Oath*: Adminiſtring the moſt colourable *Pretexts* to inflame the Multitude to Rebellious outrages againſt the *Civil Regimen*; eſpecially in thoſe Countries where there is a predominant Tenderneſs for the common *Liberties* and *Welfare* of the *Realm*. But yet all *Neutrality* is then to be laid aſide, when the dangerous State of the *Commonwealth* commands our utmoſt *Aſſiſtance*; for *this* will admit of no *Exemption*: Nor indeed is it juſt that when the *Security* of the Kingdom is ſet at

Stake,

Stake, any particular Person should be *Exempted*, that is capable of *Serving* it; but every man (contrariwise) is obliged to Contribute, to the utmost of his Power. Thus we see that the observing a just *Equality* in the conferring of *Honours*, and settling of *Assessments*, is the solid *Basis* of *Distributive Justice*; which will give a Prince *Security* at *Home*, and *Victory* over his Enemies *Abroad*.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Punitive Justice.

IT is the Business of *Corrective Justice* (as I have hinted before) to reform our *Manners*, by inflicting *Punishments* suitable to the *Crime*, whether Trivial or Heinous, Publick or Private. All *Controversies* that arise upon the *Subjects* of Traffick, Bargains, and Contracts (of which there are a great Number) must be determin'd by a *Tryal* at *Law*. But if the *Offence* be Murther, Theft, Fraud, or any Private Violence offer'd by one man to another, it must be redress'd by *Criminal Process*. Now there are *four* things requir'd as *essential* to the due Administration of *Justice*, in these *Particular* Cases; that is to say, the *Quality* of the *Law*, the *Abilities* of the *Judge*, a *Freedom* from *Prejudice* or *Prepossession*, and the *Integrity* of the Prince. As to the *Quality* of the *Law*, three things are to be consider'd concerning it; *First*, it must be accommodate to the *Genius* and *Temper* of the People, even as a *Medicine* is adapted to the *Nature* of the Disease and the *Constitution* of the Body. *Secondly*, the *Punishment* must answer the *Default*, in an *Arithmetical* Proportion. And *Thirdly*, it should curb and restrain as much as possible the Arbitrariness of the *Judge*; because those kind of *Magistrates* being (for the Generality of them) impotently propense to Morosity and Sourness, and hurry'd on by Passion; do never think better of themselves, (or at least believe not that others do so) then whilst they appear to be transported with Anger and Bitterness to all their *Resolutions*.

TO *Understand*, to *Will*, and to *Execute*, are the three main *Qualifications* of a worthy *Judge*: For *First*, without *Understanding* and

Learning in the *Law*, no man is fit for ſo important a *Charge*, or to concern himſelf in the Deciſion of *Controverſies* concerning it. *Secondly*, a *Will* is abſolutely neceſſary, becauſe if he be *negligent* and *heedleſs* in his *Office*, or bring not a *Willing Mind* along with him, he can never be able to carry an *even* hand in his *Determinations*. And *Laſtly*, without *Execution*, his *Skill* in the *Law*, and the *Honeſty* of his *Will*, will avail but little; for the *Prince* will be Defam'd, *Villany* paſs Scotfree, and *Vice* encouraged, where through the Slothfulneſs, Puſillanimity, or Corruption of the *Officers*, *Decrees* are not put in *Execution*. Now *Moderation* is a *General Rule* in this Caſe; for it is much better to be *Lov'd* than *Fear'd*. *Candour* and *Honeſty* are *Virtues* worthy of a Seat in the *Princes* Breaſt, which muſt alſo be enrich'd with a Merciful *Generoſity*, and a Generous *Clemency*. The *Mind* alſo muſt be immoveably firm, and not to be *ſway'd* by any Motives of *Prejudice* or *Partiality*; which are *Weakneſſes* below the Dignity of a *Monarch*. It will ſuffice that the *Prince* receive a brief Account of the *Events* of *Tryals*; but when there is a Neceſſity for the *Law* to take its Courſe, it will not be prudent to ſuffer himſelf to be prevail'd upon to obſtruct it. It is highly commendable, a Courage ſufficient to *Fill* the *Royal Throne*, and anſwer the Exigencies and Expectations of the Government: and yet *Puniſhments* and *Penalties*, are to be inflicted in ſuch Manner as that it may appear to be the *Rigour* of the *Law*, and not the *Cruelty* of the *King*, that preſſes them. He muſt alſo be very *Generous*, that ſo he may as well know how to ſpare and favour his *Loving* Subject, as to bridle and cruſh the *Inſolent* and *Mutinous*. For it contributed equally to the *Honour* of *Cæſar*, his ſparing *Many* and his Conquering *All*. So that he muſt be more inclin'd to *Mercy*, than to *Severity*: and ſometimes it may ſo fall out, that an affected and induſtrious *Ignorance* of a *Crime* does contribute more to a Princes *Glory*, than his taking notice of, but pardoning it. The *Greeks* had a Law that enjoyn'd the forgetting and paſſing over of *Injuries*. And *Experience* makes it good, that the *Fidelity* of the *People*, and the *Integrity* of the *Prince*, are the two Capital *Supporters* of *all* Governments. *Mercy* is indeed a *Princely Virtue*; as having *Affinity* with moderate *Rigour*, not with *Cruelty*: And it is a ſtrong Argument of a *Solid* Prudence, to be able to keep up betwixt the two *Extremes*, and to temper *Majeſty* with *Clemency*. Nay it is as well *Neceſſary* as *Becoming*; becauſe it reconciles *Fear* and *Reverence*: and it is much more glorious for a *Prince* to command the

Hearts

Hearts, than the *Bodies* of his People. But as this is an *Amicable Virtue*, the contrary to it (*Cruelty*) must needs be *Terrible*: and there is a vast *Disproportion* betwixt an *Affectionate* and a *Trembling* Subject. It implyes *Diffidence*, the censuring of all light *Peccadillo's* of *State*, it being the Property of a Prudent *Prince* to *inform* himself of *all Crimes*, *Dissemble Many*, and *Punish few*. Its an Impolitick *Temerity* for any *Monarch* that is scarce warm in his *Throne*, to exceed in extravagant *Severities*; because by such Proceedings he may be said to *lose* the *Good Will* of his People, before he *has* it. For *Austerity* seldom proves as serviceable to the *Crown*, as *Gentleness*, that engages an *Awful Veneration*: this emproving but the *other diminishing* the *Princes* Force and Authority. And yet all *Conspiracies* are to be torn up by the Roots (by Strength of Hand) in the very *Bud*; because they gather Strength, and get Ground, by Slackness and Delays. All *Excesses* are vicious and hurtful; but *this* is especially pernicious, as exposing the *Commonwealth* to Violence and Injustice. And that Prince that sways the Scepter according to the Impulses of a *Tyrannical* Bitterness, does but needlessly torment *himself* and *others*; and make a *Toil* of a *Pleasure*. *Love* is the Legitimate Issue of *Clemency*; and *Fear* of *Cruelty*. And he that would enjoy a long and a Quiet *Reign*, must be careful to cherish a discreet Proportion of the *Former*. For nothing is more contributory to the compleating the Felicity of a *Monarch*, than the *Love* and *Adoration* of his *Subjects*. The *End* of *Punishment* is, to correct and reform the *Profligate*, encourage and secure the *Peaceable*, and to give Example to *All*. Under *Trajan* (the Emperour) only *Goodmen* were Honour'd and Advanc'd; who though they might have Reason to Fear the *Wicked*; yet had they none to be *afraid* of them. It is *Clemency* that makes Kings be lookt upon as *Gods* upon *Earth*; and nothing thrusts them at a greater Distance from the *Almighty* (whose *Vicegerents* they are) than *Cruelty*. The Affectionate *Tenderness* of the *Parent* attracts a Reciprocal *Love* from the *Child*: Whereas the Grim Aspect of a *Tyrant* engenders *Hatred* and *Malevolence*. Great Care is also to be taken to obviate, and suppress a *Growing* Evil: but still the *Offence* must precede the *Punishment*. It is both easier and more commendable, to *prevent* a publick Inconvenience, than to *redress* it: because the *first* Case signalizes a mans Skill and Vigilance; but the *other* does commonly expose him to unworthy Censures and Reflections. Beside that a *Frequency* of *Punishments* makes as little for the Honour of a *Prince*, as a *Mortality* of his *Patients* adds

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234 to the Credit of a *Physician*: *This* Calling the *Doctors Abilities* in Question; and the *Other*, the *Princes Goodness* and *Moderation*. To be strict in the *Examining* of all *Offences*, is to *divulge* them; which many times is not proper to be done. For we find that the *Memory* of a Crime prevails more toward the propagating of *Vice* and *Audaciousness*, than the *Punishment* of it is effectual to their Discouragement. If the *Fault* proceed from *Facility*, it deserves *Favour*; if from *Ignorance*, *Pardon*; and if from the *Malice* of another, there is the Comfort of a *Clear Conscience*. It is not safe to take Cognizance of some *Crimes*, for Fear of making them *Publick* by *Sentence*, and the *President* do more *Hurt* to the State, than the *Horror* of the *Caution* can *Advantage* it. The most exquisite Punishment of heinous and unparallel'd Villanies arises from a Sense of the *Guilt* of them: But however all *Judgments* ought to be clear of Passion and Prejudice; and while the *Magistrate* condemns as a *God*, he should remember that he's but a *Man*. It is *Prudence* to conceal and keep private all such *Sentences*, as do savour of Rigour, or of Facility: and it is equally *Unjust* to *Hang* none, and to *Spare* none; so that Necessity must overrule in the Case. For *Reward* and *Punishment* are the main *Props* of the Government; and he who pardons all Offences promiscuously, makes himself an *Abettor* of them. To suffer *Treason* to pass *Scot-free*, is to *approve* of it; *Virtue* will be oppress, if it be destitute of *Patronage*, or made to suffer in the room of *Vice*. But yet there is a great Difference betwixt the *Comfort* of having *spar'd*, when it lay in our Power to have *Destroy'd*, and of having *Destroy'd* when we might have *Sav'd*. A *Publick Minister* that abuses his Trust, deserves to be severely handled; because the Scandal cast upon his *Office* weighs heavier than the *Crime* it self. *Tacitus* tells us, that *Vice* is imputable to the Men, and not to the Times; because humane Nature is prone to all *Evil*. So that *Seneca* err'd in affirming the Contrary.

The Conclusion.

BY *Religion*, *Fortitude*, *Temperance*, *Justice*, men are in an eminent Manner qualifi'd for the Service of the *Commonwealth*. And *Policy* and *History* were invented for the Encouragement of *Virtue*; and for the same End also was this *Discourse* undertaken; in which we have commended the Just and Deserving, and reprehended those that were otherwise, by neglecting the Means of attaining to a Proportion of Knowledge suitable to the Dig-

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nity of their Function. For Great *Souls* are only to be mov'd by *Reason* and *Example*. It is a *Folly* to imagine that Heroick Enterprizes are to be atchiev'd by small Pains. So that among the many Ingredients necessary for the constituting of a Glorious *Prince*, and a Happy *Government*, worthy *Actions* ought not to be pretermitted. True it is that the Attempt of forming a *Prince* perfect in all Respects, is rather *Generous* than *Feasible*: and yet it is expedient to extol a Brave *Prince*, as well for the Dignity of the *President*, as to inflame all other *Monarchs* with a like Desire of Glory. To Brand and Stigmatize *Vice*, may be yet more profitable; for it will quicken Endeavours to Correct and Resist the Corrupt and Adulterated Impression of a vitiated *Nature*; and to Govern themselves by the Rules of *Justice* and *Reason*. It is the constant Care of *Seamen* to keep themselves clear of such Rocks, and other Places, as are infamous for Wracks and Miscarriages. And all wise *Monarchs* have still been sollicitous to avoid the Train of *Vice*, as the notorious *Quick-sand* upon which so many have miserably split themselves, *and* perish'd. But I dare venture to recommend this that I have chalk'd out as a safe and commodious Path. For the three *Fundamentals* of Policy being *Councel*, *Strength*, and *Reputation*; it concerns a *Prince* to reflect soberly upon it, how much *Stead* able and faithful *Ministers* have stood him in; how much his *Care* touching *Military Conveniences* has contributed to the Strength and Security of his *Dominions*; and the *Justice* and *Exactitude* of Civil *Administrations*, to the purchasing of *Honour*, and the immortalizing of his *Memory*: and when he has cast up his Accounts and found himself to have been defective in none of these *Particulars*; the Result of all will certainly be the *Character* of an *Excellent* and a *Happy Prince*. His Ears will not be bor'd with the Murmurings and Complaints of his *Subjects*: or however, in the Case of a *Reproach* of this Quality, he may safely answer (with *Alexander*) *That it is as natural to a Good Prince to take Care of his People, and of the Commonwealth, as it is for them to be Ungrateful and Unmindful of their Obligations*. There never was that man yet, that could pretend to please all men: Even *winged* Feet are not able to outstrip *Detraction* and *Malevolence*: and I could wish that this *Distemper* were less predominant in our own Country, than it is at Present.

THE END.